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Fry, Sculp.

James Stuart.

Son of King James 11nd

From an original Picture by Anthony Pesne, in the possession of Earl Beauchamp.

London, Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Browne, Novr. 25th 1820.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE REBELLION

IN

1745 AND 1746.

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BY THE CHEVALIER DE JOHNSTONE,

AID-DE-CAMP TO LORD GEORGE MURRAY, GENERAL OF THE REBEL ARMY, ASSISTANT AID-DE-CAMP TO PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, CAPTAIN IN THE DUKE OF PERTH'S REGIMENT, AND AFTERWARDS AN OFFICER IN THE FRENCH SERVICE.

CONTAINING

A NARRATIVE OF THE PROGRESS OF THE REBELLION,

FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN;

THE CHARACTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL PERSONS ENGAGED IN IT, AND ANECDOTES RESPECTING THEM;

AND VARIOUS IMPORTANT PARTICULARS RELATING TO THAT CONTEST, HITHERTO EITHER UNKNOWN OR IMPERFECTLY UNDERSTOOD.

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUFFERINGS AND PRIVATIONS EXPERIENCED BY THE AUTHOR AFTER THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN,

BEFORE HE EFFECTED HIS ESCAPE TO THE CONTINENT, &c. &c.

TRANSLATED FROM A FRENCH MS.

ORIGINALLY DEPOSITED IN THE SCOTS COLLEGE AT PARIS, AND NOW IN THE HANDS OF THE PUBLISHERS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,

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Fry, Sculp.

Charles Edward Stuart.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE character of the Rebellion which broke out in this country in the year 1745, cannot be rightly understood, without a knowledge of our domestic history, and the state of the different parts of the island, from the commencement of the disturbances in the reign of Charles I., down to the period of that insurrection..

To the Reformation (itself, no doubt the fruit of growing knowledge and civilisation) we owe the diffusion of the principles of civil, as well as religious liberty. Before that period, even in countries possessed of certain political privileges, tyrannical principles were generally prevalent. It was impossible, however, for men to emancipate themselves from ecclesiastical tyranny, without, in some degree, embracing principles favourable to general freedom; for the arguments, on which they claimed religious liberty, admitted of an easy, and almost unavoidable application to civil rights. This connection was soon perceived by many of the depositaries of power, who resisted innovation in matters of religion, as likely to lead to innovations in other matters. They saw the importance of preserving every link in the chain of tyranny unbroken.

It was soon felt, in like manner, by the partisans of the new religious doctrines, that the establishment of their other rights was necessary to the secure enjoyment of their religion. Hence, in all our public dissensions, since the Reformation, religion and liberty have been more or less blended together.

In England a tyrannical sovereign early embraced so much of the Reformation as he thought favourable to his purposes, and arbitrarily modelled the church in such a manner, as to derive from the changes a great accession of power. The reformed church of England retained all, or nearly all the principles of the Catholic church favourable to arbitrary power; and the king having made himself its supreme head, *Pontifex maximus*, all the influence of the ecclesiastical body was thrown into the regal scale. The permission to marry, which the clergy of all the Protestant churches have obtained, added greatly to the influence of the English monarch; for the natural wish to provide for an offspring, necessarily rendered the clergy more ambitious of wealth and preferment, and consequently more subservient to those who had that wealth and preferment at their disposal, than they would have been in a state of celibacy. Hence, now that the principles of toleration prevail in most countries; that persecution on account of religion is almost unknown; that the laity have escaped in several great Catholic states from the influence of the clergy; that religious reform has ceased to be an object of primary importance in most parts of Europe; and that the attention of men is almost solely directed to political reform, — the Catholics, who are friendly to liberty as well as Protestants, rejoice at nothing so much, in the present contests for freedom, as that they have not to struggle against such an additional influence as their governments would have derived

from an ecclesiastical reform effected on the principles of that of the Church of England.

The Reformation, so effected by the monarch in England, did not satisfy a number of those who had embraced the reformed doctrines. These dissentients, from their wish to purge the church from many of the Catholic doctrines and usages still retained, as well as from the greater austerity and strictness of their lives, received the appellation of Puritans.

The party of the Puritans again split in the course of time into a number of subdivisions, differing, more or less, from each other in their religious dogmas, and their notions of church-government, but all of them differing radically from the church of England, and agreeing together in their hatred of the dominion of that church.

In Scotland, the government all along opposed the progress of the Reformation. The government of England had contrived to throw the weight of the Reformation into the scale of power, and skilfully availed itself of a current which it could not have easily stemmed; but the government of Scotland, more honest perhaps, though less enlightened than that of England, resisted the temptation which the plunder of the church held out,* obstinately clung to the old Catholic system, and cruelly persecuted all who favoured the new opinions. The new opinions, however, prevailed in spite of the government; but as the reformation of Scotland was effected in opposition to power, it was

* "For no man living shall I stain mine honour for any worldly good;" said James V. to Sir Ralph Saddler, who pointed out to this needy sovereign, by command of Henry VIII., the wealth which he might derive from the church.

not a real, but a popular reformation, and its principles were accordingly more favourable to civil and ecclesiastical liberty.

The Reformation, in Scotland, was, however, confined to that part of the country in which the English, or a kindred language to the English, is spoken. The people of the Lowlands of Scotland, though then in a much more rude state than the people of England, were by no means strangers to arts and civilisation. But the Highlands (a part of Scotland amounting nearly to one-half in point of extent, though it does not contain above one-eighth of the population,) are inhabited by a different race of men, by whom a branch of the Celtic language is spoken; and this difference of language, the peculiar state of society on which civilisation had hardly dawned, and the wild and rugged nature of the country, opposed formidable obstacles to the introduction and progress of the Reformation.

When the great struggle between the house of Stuart and the people commenced in England, "the devotees of presbytery became, of course, zealous partisans of the parliament; the friends of the episcopal church valued themselves on defending the rights of the monarchy."* The first and most decisive blow in the island, may be said, however, to have been struck by the Scots. The attempt to establish the Liturgy of the church of England, termed by the Covenanters in their manifesto, "the fountain whence all these Babylonish streams issue unto us," in Scotland, in which the presbyterian system had been adopted, and to which the people were almost universally attached, led at once to open resistance of the royal authority. The famous covenant, or bond of union, to resist all religious innovations, was

* Hume.

subscribed by all ranks and conditions, all ages and sexes. "The whole kingdom was, in a manner, engaged;"* forces were regularly inlisted and disciplined, and an army of 26,000 men was soon assembled. Charles I. dispatched a formidable fleet, with 5000 troops on board, to the Frith of Forth, and entered Scotland himself, with an army of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse; but, deterred by the force of the Covenanters, and the dread of losing a battle while Scotland was enraged, and England discontented, he concluded a sudden, and to him disgraceful pacification, by which, without effecting any thing, he agreed to withdraw his fleet and army. Presbytery was, of course, triumphant. This hollow peace was soon, however, broken by the king; and the Scots advanced into England, defeated the detachment sent to oppose them by Charles, and, by their presence in the south, enabled the parliament to take a high ground, and successfully to resist the king, which, from the greater strength of the crown in England than in Scotland, where its power was always very low, they might not otherwise have been enabled to do.

However, while the army of the Covenanting Lowlanders was in England, the famous Marquis of Montrose secretly entered Scotland, put himself at the head of a small body of Irish, who landed in that country, and raised the royal standard, which was immediately joined by the Highlanders. With these means he gained a succession of brilliant victories, which threatened for a time to turn the balance on the side of Charles. As this is the period when the Highlanders first became of consequence in a military point of view, and as they have acted such an important part in all the subsequent efforts in favour of the House of

* Hume.

Stuart, it may be here necessary to advert shortly to the state of that people, the nature of their country, and the circumstances which then gave them that consequence.

The Scottish Highlanders occupy the extensive mountainous tract, which, divided by an imaginary line, drawn from Dumbarton, includes both sides of Loch Lomond, and the higher and more mountainous parts of Stirling and Perth shires, Angus, Mearns, and Aberdeenshire. Beyond this line all the people speak Gaelic, and wear or did wear the Highland dress. The Western Islands are comprehended within this wild and extensive territory, which includes upwards of 200 parishes, and a population of about 200,000 souls.

The country, though in many cases so wild and savage as to be almost uninhabitable, contains, on the sea-coasts, on the sides of the lakes, in the vales of the small streams, and in the more extensive *straths* through which large rivers discharge themselves; much arable ground; and the mountains, which surround these favoured spots, afford ample pasture walks, and great abundance of game. These glens or valleys were each the domain of a separate tribe, who lived for each other, laboured in common, married usually within the clan, and, the passage from one vale to another being dangerous in most seasons, and toilsome in all, had very little communication with the world beyond their own range of mountains. This circumstance, says the author of an able article in the 28th Number of the Quarterly Review, (generally attributed to Sir Walter Scott,) which, in this brief account of the Highlands, we have chiefly followed, "doubtless tended to prolong among these separate tribes a species of government, the first that is known in the infancy of society, and which, in most instances, is altered or modified during an early

period of its progress." * The obedience of the Highlander was paid to the chief of his clan, as representing some remote ancestor, from whom it was supposed the whole tribe was originally descended; and whose name, compounded into a patronymic, was the distinguishing appellation of the sept. Each clan, acting on this principle, bore to its chief all the zeal, all the affectionate deference, all the blind devotion of children to a father. Their obedience was grounded on the same law of nature; and a breach of it was regarded as equally heinous. The clansman who scrupled to save his chief's life at the expense of his own, was regarded as a coward, who fled from his father's side in the hour of peril. Upon this principle rests the whole doctrine of clanship; and although the authority of the chief sometimes assumed a more legal aspect, as the general law of the country then stood, by his being

* We are rather inclined to suppose that the perpetual wars with England, and the anarchical state of Scotland, are the principal causes of the long continuance of this system. Had not the kings of Scotland been almost incessantly engaged in wars with England, or with their own barons, they would soon have reduced the Highlands, and established the authority of the laws there. The sword, as Dr. Smith observes, is often a most efficacious instrument of civilisation; and it has been also well observed by Fletcher of Saltoun, "'Tis in vain to say, that whatever people are planted in these mountains, they will quickly turn as savage and as great beggars as the present inhabitants; for the mountains of the Alps are greater, more desert, and more condemned to snows than those of the Highlands, which are every where cut by friths and lakes, the richest in fishing of any in the world, affording great conveniencies for transportation of timber and any other goods; and yet the Alps, which have no such advantages, are inhabited every where by a civilised, industrious, honest, and peaceable people." The plan of civilisation recommended by Fletcher, would certainly have been most efficacious, but it is not remarkable for its humanity. "It were to be wished," he says, "that the government would think fit to transplant that handful of people, and their masters, who have always disturbed our peace, into the Low-country, and people the Highlands from hence."

possessed of feudal influence or territorial jurisdiction; yet, with his clan, no feudal rights or magisterial authority could enhance or render more ample that power which he possessed, *jure sanguinis,* by the right of primogeniture. The duty of the clansman was indelible; and no feudal grant which he might acquire, or other engagement whatsoever, was to be preferred to his service to the chief. Such was the very simple theory of clan-government. In practice it extended further. Each clan was divided into three orders: the head of all was the chief, who was usually, though not uniformly, the proprietor of all or the greatest part of the territories of the clan; not, it must be supposed, in absolute property, but as the head and grand steward of the community. He administered them, however, in all respects at his own will and pleasure. A certain portion of the best of the land he retained as his own appanage, and it was cultivated for his sole profit. The rest was divided by grants, of a nature more or less temporary, among the second class of the clan, who are called *tenants, tacksmen, or goodmen.* These were the near relations of the chief, or were descended from those who bore such near relation to some of his ancestors. To each of these brothers, nephews, cousins, and so forth, the chief assigned a portion of land either during pleasure or frequently in the form of a pledge redeemable for a certain sum of money. These small portions of land, assisted by the liberality of their relations, the tacksmen contrived to stock, and on these they subsisted, until, in a generation or two, the lands were resumed for portioning out some nearer relative, and the descendants of the original tacksmen sunk into the situation of commoners. This was such an ordinary transition that the third class, consisting of the com-

mon people, was strengthened in the principle on which their clannish obedience depended, namely the belief in their original connection with the genealogy of the chief, since each generation saw a certain number of families merge among the commoners, whom their fathers had ranked among the tacksmen or nobility of the clan. This change, though frequent, did not uniformly take place. In the case of a very powerful chief, or of one who had an especial affection for a son or brother, a portion of land was assigned to a cadet in perpetuity, or he was perhaps settled in an appanage conquered from some other clan, or the tacksman acquired wealth and property by marriage, or by some exertion of his own. In all these cases he kept his rank in society, and usually had under his government a branch or subdivision of the tribe, who looked up to him, as their immediate leader, and whom he governed with the same authority, and in the same manner, in all respects, as the chief who was patriarchal head of the whole sept. Such head of a subordinate branch of a clan was called a Chieftain, (a word of distinct and limited meaning,) but remained dependent and usually tributary to the *chief*, and bound to support, follow, and obey him, in all lawful and unlawful service.

Each tacksman leased out his portion of the clan territory in small portions, and for moderate rents, to the commoners of the clan, or furnished them with stock and seed-corn, on condition of receiving a moiety of the profits; and, in either case, the dependence of the cottager or commoner on the tacksman was as absolute as that of the tacksman upon the chief, and the general opinion inculcated upon all was implicit duty to their patriarchal head and his constituted authorities.

Under this system the population rapidly increased. Limited to its own valley, each clan increased in numbers, in a degree far

beyond the means of subsisting them. Each little farm was, by the tenant who cultivated it, divided and sub-divided among his children and grand-children, until the number of human beings to be maintained far exceeded that for whom, by any mode of culture, the space of ground could afford nourishment. The consequence of this over-population, in any case, must have been laziness; because where there were so many hands for such light work, none would work hard, and those who could set up the slightest ground of exemption would not work at all. This was particularly the case with the tacksmen's youngest sons; a race destined to sink into the insignificance of commoners, unless they could keep themselves afloat by some deed of distinction. They naturally associated to themselves the stoutest and most active of the youthful commoners, all of whom reckoned their pedigree up to that of their chief, and therefore were entitled to disdain "the shepherd's slothful life." Under such leaders they often committed creaghs or depredations on the Lowlands, or on hostile clans, and sometimes constituted themselves into regular bands of robbers, whom the chief connived at, though he dared not to avow their depredations; and whom, on the other hand, he conscientiously protected against the law as far as he safely could. A military spirit, and contempt of labour, distinguished even the very lowest of the commoners. "The half of our country, in point of extent," says Fletcher of Saltoun, "is possessed by a people who are all gentlemen, only because they will not work; and who, in every thing, are more contemptible than the vilest slaves, except that they always carry arms, because for the most part they live on robbery."

The different clans, living thus in a perpetual state of war with the Low-country, and with each other, no man, without people

ready to defend him, could expect to sleep in safety; and as the consequence of every one depended on the number and attachment of his dependents, every consideration became of minor importance compared with that of military strength.

In former times the Highland chiefs paid allegiance to princes of their own, altogether distinct from the king of Scotland, with whom they were sometimes at war, sometimes at peace; or at most acknowledged only a slight and nominal dependence upon him. This was the powerful dynasty of the Lords of the Isles, who flourished from a dark and remote period down to the reign of James V., and whose sway extended over the bulk of the Highlands. It was not until the battle of the Harlaw, fought in 1410, that this insular kingdom could be considered as an actual dependancy of the Scottish crown.

The union of the crowns of Scotland and England gave rise to the superiority in the use of arms, possessed by the Highlanders over their Lowland fellow-subjects. In former times, when the Highlanders descended from their mountains, they encountered in the Lowlands a race of men as hardy, brave, and skilful in the use of weapons, as themselves, possessed of much greater ingenuity, and far superior to them in arms and military discipline. In the battle of Harlaw, Donald of the Isles, with the largest army that ever left the Highlands, was checked by an inferior number of Lowlanders; and in the fields of Corichie, Glenlivat, and others, the Highlanders were routed with great loss, by fewer, but better appointed numbers, of their Lowland countrymen. In the battle fought near Bannockburn, in 1488, between James the Third, supported by the northern chieftains, and the barons of the south, "the tumultuous ranks of the Highlanders," says Sir W. Scott, in his Introduction to the Border Minstrelsy,

" were ill able to endure the steady and rapid charge of the men of Annandale and Liddisdale, who bore spears two ells longer than were used by the rest of their countrymen." But the lapse of more than half a century, during which the people of both borders had remained quiet under the protection of the laws, neither doing nor suffering violence, had deprived them of much of their martial spirit. The Highlanders, again, were not only bred to arms and active exercises from their infancy, but were, in a manner, regimented under their several chiefs and tacksmen; and, being always in order for war, wanted only a general and a cause.

When the civil wars broke out, the Highland chieftains and their people were almost all either catholics or bigoted to the prelatic establishment, and unacquainted with any other principles of government than those of unconditional obedience; and they therefore naturally embraced the cause of Charles, which to them must have appeared the cause of justice and right. After achieving, with the Highlanders, a number of brilliant victories, over greatly superior numbers of undisciplined Lowlanders, Montrose was at last totally defeated by a body of regular forces under the command of the famous David Lesley. The victories of the Highlanders, under Montrose, were, however soon followed by a chastisement within their own fastnesses from Cromwell, such as their own monarchs had never been sufficiently powerful to inflict on them. Cromwell established garrisons at Inverness, Inverlochy, and other places in the Highlands;—he set on foot moveable columns who constantly patroled the country, and became acquainted with its most hidden recesses;—he destroyed the castles of the chiefs, and compelled them to surrender their arms; and to give pledges for their peace-

ful conduct. The civilisation of the Highlands could hardly have failed to have soon followed the continuance of this system.

In 1646 the presbyterian form of church government was established all over England; and the union between the throne and the church, was now, therefore, annihilated throughout both kingdoms.

The Restoration, in 1660, restored also prelacy. All the royalists were naturally zealous for that mode of religion; and in England, a House of Commons, of which the majority were attached to presbytery, both as agreeing with their religious opinions and as being more favourable to liberty than to royal power, was obliged, from the prevailing spirit in the country, to consent to the re-establishment of the episcopal church, through fear of again involving the nation in blood. In Scotland the laws in favour of presbytery were repealed, and the resolution to restore prelacy was adopted.

In England the royalists and zealous churchmen were decidedly the popular party; and, in the first parliament summoned after the Restoration in 1661, only fifty-six members of the Presbyterian party obtained seats in the lower house.

But in Scotland the body of the nation entertained the most insurmountable aversion to episcopacy. The most tyrannical measures were adopted to conquer the repugnance of the people, which only served the more to increase it. The cruelties to which the presbyterians were exposed under Charles the Second and his successor James, are almost unparalleled in the annals of persecution. The party in power endeavoured to goad them on to insurrection, that they might have a pretext for the strongest measures. Hunted from hill to hill by "an army composed," says Fletcher, "for the most part of barbarous Highlanders," the

presbyterians naturally became desperate, adopted the most desperate principles, and, at last, openly disclaimed allegiance to any monarch who should not profess presbytery. They were defeated at the battle of Pentland Hills, on the 28th of November, 1666, and the government now obtained the pretext for outrages of which it was desirous. The consequence was increased animosity on the part of the people. The militia and standing army soon became unequal to the task of enforcing conformity; and 6000 of the Highlanders, who for the services they had rendered to the reigning family had again established their exemption from the general law of the land, were invited from their mountains to pillage the south-west of Scotland; a task which they performed with the rapacity of an indigent people, and no doubt with considerable cruelty; though, it has been said, with less than had been expected from them by their employers. In 1679 the presbyterians burned the acts of parliament in favour of Prelacy, on the anniversary of the Restoration, and encamped on Loudon Hill, where they were attacked on the 1st of June, by Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards Lord Dundee. The honour of the day remained to the insurgents; but almost immediately afterwards they were routed at Bothwell Bridge.

Events in England afforded that relief to the presbyterians of Scotland for which they had in vain appealed to arms. When James the Second succeeded to the throne, the current of public favour ran so strong for the court, that, according to Lord Lonsdale, he might easily have made himself absolute. But James was the most unskilful of all tyrants. By the open and undisguised manner in which he went to work, he frightened those who, with a little address, would have cordially supported his views. He paid no regard to the opinions or prejudices of either

friends or foes. His tyrannical measures roused all the friends of liberty, and his undisguised attempt to introduce the Roman Catholic religion, and the indignity offered by him to the English bishops, withdrew from him the affections of the church, of which he was the legal head, and by which, in almost any other case, he would have been supported. "The Whigs," says Hume, "suitable to their ancient principles of liberty, easily agreed to oppose a king whose conduct had verified whatever his worst enemies had prognosticated of his succession; the Tories, and the Church-party, finding their past services forgotten, their rights invaded, *their religion threatened*, agreed to drop, for the present all overstrained doctrines of submission, and attend to the great and powerful dictates of nature; the nonconformists dreading the caresses of known and inveterate enemies, deemed the offers of toleration more secure from a prince educated in these principles, and accustomed to that practice; and thus rival parties, forgetting their animosity, secretly concurred in a design of opposing their unhappy and misguided sovereign." Such, however, is the power of government in a country considerably advanced in civilisation, and possessed of such a degree of wealth as then belonged to England, which men are naturally afraid of risking, that, though all parties were for the time united against James, and the Prince of Orange landed with a well appointed army of upwards of 14,000 men, nobody for several days joined that Prince.

In Scotland, the Revolution necessarily led to the establishment of presbytery. The people, anticipated the determination of the legislature, and forcibly drove the episcopal clergymen from their churches. Again, however, the Highlanders espoused the cause of the Stuarts, and, at Killiecranky, about 3000, under

Lord Dundee, defeated a force of regulars of 4500 foot, and two troops of horse, under General Mackay. But in the battle Dundee fell, and his successors being men of no ability, the war on their part dwindled down into a succession of inroads, and skirmishes, in which the Low-country was severely plundered by the Highlanders. King William deemed it advisable to purchase the peace of the Highlanders, and gave 20,000*l.* to the Earl of Breadalbane, to be distributed among the chiefs; a measure which only tended to heighten their idea of their own consequence; to make them regard military strength as the road to wealth and importance; to retard the advance of civilisation, and to induce them to augment the number of their followers by every possible means.

In England the Tories and the High-Churchmen, after the danger which induced them to coalesce with the Whigs was over, soon began to be ashamed of the victory which had been gained; and though, perhaps, generally determined to oppose the King's return, they were averse to the dethroning him, or altering the line of succession, and proposed the expedient of a regent with kingly power. In the house of lords the question for a king was carried by only two votes. Though circumstances had given an ascendancy to the Whigs in the house of commons, the greatest part of the aristocracy of the country, and perhaps of the people, were still Churchmen and Tories. Defoe, himself a dissenter, in his Review of the 10th October, 1706, says, "that, put all the dissenters in England and presbyterians in Scotland into a list, and they make not above one to nine of the church of England members in Britain;" and it must always be borne in mind that though all the Whigs were not dissenters, yet the dissenters always constituted the main force of the Whigs.

The Union in 1707 was brought about by the distribution of a sum of money among the Scots aristocracy, (of which distribution an authentic account has fortunately been preserved,) greatly against the wishes of the Scottish nation in general. The different religious and political parties forgot for a time their animosities towards each other, in their common hatred of that measure. The Presbyterian clergymen even lost much of their interest with their flocks, from an idea that, having once secured their kirk, they were indifferent to their country and its liberties; and the most violent of that party were almost disposed to waive their objection to the religion of King James, for the sake of getting rid of the union; "for," said they, "God may convert him, or he may have Protestant children; but the union never can be good." It is certain that the Cameronians had nearly formed a league with the Jacobites at that time.

"A Tory," said Hume, in a volume of his Essays, first published in 1742, "may be defined, in a few words, to be a lover of monarchy, though without abandoning liberty, *and a partisan of the family of Stuart;* as a Whig may be defined to be a lover of liberty, though without renouncing monarchy, and a friend to the settlement in the Protestant line. A Jacobite seems to be a Tory who has no regard to the constitution, but is either a zealous partisan of absolute monarchy, or at least willing to sacrifice our liberties to the obtaining the succession in that family to which he is attached." In England the people might be divided into Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites; though the two last were closely allied to each other. In Scotland there were only two parties. All the presbyterians, the great body of the people, were Whigs; and as the episcopalians had no worldly motive for dissembling their sentiments, having been dispos-

sessed at the Revolution, they were all nonjurors, and open and avowed Jacobites,

The Tories got into power in the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne, and the restoration of the Stuarts was projected by their ministry. The violent dissensions, however, which, in the language of Dr. Johnson, *shattered* that ministry, and the sudden death of Queen Anne, gave the throne to the House of Hanover, and the ascendancy to the Whigs.

A faint attempt was made in favour of the House of Stuart in the north of England; but when the Earl of Mar raised the standard of the Chevalier St. George, almost all the Highland chiefs of name and eminence assembled their forces at Perth; and he was at the head of the greatest body of Highlanders which ever was brought together. Mar, however, was not fitted to lead an army; and suffered himself to be pent up within the Friths of Forth and Clyde, by the Duke of Argyle, at the head of a force not exceeding two or three thousand men. The battle of Sheriffmoor was indecisive. The right wing of the Highlanders was successful, and their left completely routed. Both parties retreated, the Highlanders to Perth, and the Duke of Argyle to Stirling. A Montrose, a Dundee, or Lord George Murray, with the same means, would have soon become masters of Scotland, and (with the assistance of the English Tories, who only waited the approach of a Highland army to declare themselves) could hardly have then failed to get possession of England; but fortunately for the country, Mar was far from being either a Montrose, a Dundee, or a Murray, and the rebellion was speedily suppressed.

In 1719 a plan of invasion and insurrection in favour of the Stuarts was formed by Spain. A fleet of ten ships of the line,

with several frigates, having on board 6000 troops, and 12,000 stand of arms, sailed from Cadiz for England; and while this fleet was preparing the Earl Mareschal left St. Sebastian with two Spanish frigates, having on board 300 Spanish soldiers, ammunition, arms, and money, and landed in the island of Lewis. The Spanish fleet was completely dispersed by a violent storm off Cape Finisterre, and as every thing remained quiet in England, very few Highlanders rose. General Wightman came up with the Spanish and Highland force at Glenshiel; the Highlanders, favoured by the ground, withdrew to the hills without having suffered much; and the Spaniards laid down their arms and were made prisoners.

The state of the Highlands naturally attracted the attention of the British parliament; but its measures were imperfectly carried into execution. A general disarming act was passed; but while the provisions of this act were obeyed by the clans in the interest of government, they were eluded by the greater and by far the more warlike part of the Highlanders, who remained attached to the family of Stuart. The act had every where been ostensibly carried into execution; but the disaffected chieftains contrived to retain the weapons of their immediate clansmen, and only delivered up arms of little or no use, which they collected from an inferior description of individuals, of whom each important clan had a number attached to them as a sort of helots. The disarming act, therefore, from the manner in which it was executed, only served to deprive the government of the assistance which it might have derived on any sudden emergency from the Duke of Argyle, and some other chiefs who were attached to the house of Hanover.

A declaration of war with France or Spain, which required

the service of these troops abroad, was always a signal to the Highland clans for a rebellion at home.

The death of the emperor Charles VI., in 1740, gave rise to a general war in Europe. The French ministry, in order to furnish employment to the British government at home, concerted a plan of invasion in favour of the Pretender. In the beginning of 1744, transports were collected at Dunkirk, for an army of 15,000 men under the command of Marshal Saxe, who, with Prince Charles Edward, the Pretender's son, arrived at that place on the 23d of February; but while the embarkation of the troops was going on, a storm arose, which wrecked a number of transports, whereby many soldiers and seamen, and a great quantity of warlike stores were lost, and an end, for that time, was put to the invasion. Had this expedition reached the shores of Britain, the whole of the disaffected clans, who were able to bring to the field 12,000 men, were prepared to rise. The chiefs were all then united, which for various reasons they were not when the Rebellion actually took place.

Impatient at the delays of the court of France in seconding his views, the young Pretender proposed to repair to Scotland, even without assistance, contrary to the wishes of his Jacobite friends in that country, who, with the exception of the Duke of Perth, all declared themselves against such a design. The battle of Fontenoy, however, in which the British troops were cut to pieces, on the 11th of May, 1745, determined Prince Charles to try what he could do in a country where he knew he had many friends, and no formidable enemies but the regular troops, few of which were then in the island. He embarked soon after, and landed in the West Highlands, accompanied only by a few attendants.

In the Low-country of Scotland, the great body of the people were either presbyterians of the established church, or seceders from that church of still more rigid presbyterian principles. These were all staunch adherents of the Hanover family. A considerable number of the nobility and gentry, and a few of the middle classes were of the episcopal persuasion; and the episcopalians as has been already stated, were either open or concealed Jacobites. The strong feeling of discontent, which had nearly united together the presbyterians and Jacobites, at the time of the union, was now infinitely less powerful with the former, than their hatred of the house of Stuart, and their attachment to the house of Hanover.

The state of England at that time is a subject of greater difficulty. In that country the different parties were not so sharply separated from each other as in Scotland, in which all who were not Whigs were Jacobites, and all were Jacobites who were not Presbyterians. In England all the dissenters were Whigs and Hanoverians; but in that country there is always a considerable body undecided in their principles, and governed by circumstances; and all who were not Whigs and dissenters could not therefore be called Jacobites.

It is certain, however, from the archives of the Stuart family, now in the King's library, that a very great proportion of the English aristocracy were Jacobites. The Tories, though not all Jacobites, had all a leaning towards the Stuart family; and we must never forget that the Tories formed the bulk of the nation: for it has been truly observed by Mr. Burke, that the Whigs have never formed any considerable part of the strength of England; that the dissenters were the chief support of that party; and that they owe to circumstances alone, whatever influence they may have at

any time possessed. As the administration had then been thirty years in the hands of the Whigs, they of course possessed a number of adherents in the upper and middle ranks of life, and among the higher established clergy. But though, from the constitution of that church, it is naturally the ally of the state, and its tenet of passive obedience, independently of interest, leads it to support the government; a very suspicious circumstance respecting it was shrewdly noticed by Hume, namely, that *almost all its lower clergy then sided with the opposition.* He very naturally inferred from this, "that some bias still hung upon our constitution, some extrinsic weight, which turned it from its natural course." We were indebted, for the two extraordinary phenomena of a Whig king and an opposition church, to the existence of the deposed family of Stuart; and the extinction of a Pretender to the throne will probably for ever prevent their recurrence.

Such was the state of the country, and its relations, at the time Prince Charles Edward landed in the West Highlands.

In a few days he was joined by several chieftains, with from 1800 to 2000 men; and with this force he advanced towards the Low-country. Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief of Scotland, advanced into the Highlands, with what troops he could collect together, about 1400 foot, with some artillery; but on receiving notice that the rebels were waiting his approach in the passes of a high mountain, which it was necessary for him to cross, he turned aside, and left the road to the Low-country open to them. In two days after crossing the Forth, they became masters of the metropolis of Scotland. The king's forces having formed a junction advanced against them, and were completely routed at Preston Pans or Gladsmuir. Being now between 5000 and 6000 strong, though the Highland clans, which formed the

only part of their force, whereon any great dependance could be placed, did not exceed 4000,* they advanced into England, took Carlisle, before which they remained a sufficient time to allow Marshal Wade, who lay at Newcastle with a superior force, to come up with them, and proceeded without interruption to Derby, having gained a march on the Duke of Cumberland, who was at the head of another superior army in the centre of the kingdom. Deceived in their expectations of being joined by the English Jacobites, justly alarmed at the disproportion between their force, and the force and population of the country into which they had advanced so far, and having received intelligence of the arrival of troops and arms from France, they determined to fall back on that force in a council of war held at Derby; and with one army on their flank and another in their rear, they effected their retreat without loss into Scotland, there formed a junction of their forces, again defeated the King's army, then retired into the Highlands, where, after achieving a number of daring exploits in the course of the winter and spring, they were ultimately defeated at Culloden.

Nothing appears more surprising, at first sight, than that so small a force should have bid defiance for more than half a year to the powerful government of Great Britain.

The politician may derive some important lessons from the attentive consideration of what took place at that time.

* In a letter from Lord President Forbes to Mr. Scrope, dated 14th Nov. 1745, published in the Culloden Papers, he says, "For of those kindreds of the Highlanders who in the year 1715 were at Perth, there are now in this country partly assisting me, and partly detained at home by persuasion or force, a greater number than the number of real Highlanders who have from Edinburgh marched towards England. I do not speak of the whole of what they call their army, which is composed of Low-country people, who must prove rather a drawback than any assistance to them; but I speak of the natives of the mountains who by the celerity of their marches, and by their capacity to bear fatigues, may be accounted dangerous enemies."

That a very great proportion of the aristocracy of the country were jacobitically disposed, is proved by the evidence of their own hand-writings. The prevalence of similar feelings in the other classes of England (in Scotland it was otherwise) is proved by the indifference with which the approach of the Highlanders was viewed. "We are such uncommon people," (at Cambridge) says Gray in a letter to Horace Walpole, "as to have no more sense of danger than if the battle had been fought where and when the battle of Cannæ was. I heard three sensible middle-aged men, when the Scotch were said to be at Stamford, and actually were at Derby, talking of hiring a chaise to go to Caxton (a place in the high road), to see the Pretender and Highlanders as they passed."

But the English aristocracy, though they would willingly have joined the Pretender, if they had seen that he could support himself without them, resolved not to stir one step so long as this point remained doubtful. King William was only joined in 1688, when he had shown that he could make good his ground without support. The Jacobites would have cheerfully paid their homage to the family of Stuart, if once seated on the throne, but would risk nothing to contribute to place them on it.

From this we may see the immense strength of government, in a country in which wealth is widely diffused, in relation to its own subjects. The dread of losing that wealth by unsuccessful resistance, will generally command their submission, though the government may not only have little of their regard, but may even be an object of dislike to them. Nothing but the most flagrant misgovernment, something which unites all classes against the state, and renders them, in the apprehension of a greater danger, insensible to the danger to which resistance exposes them, can

ever overturn a government in such a country. But in proportion to the strength of the government, in relation to its own subjects, is its weakness when attacked from without. The moment the invader appears to be the strongest, he commands the obedience of all those who have any thing to lose. "I do not care," said an English gentleman to the author of the following Memoirs, "though the devil were king, if he do not take my estate from me." Hence, in countries like England or Holland, that obstinate and protracted resistance to a government, supported by a powerful army, which was lately displayed by the Spaniards, could never possibly take place. Hence too, for the same reason that the richest nations are the most easily held in subjection, the richest part of any one nation is naturally the most submissive; and it was found, in Spain as well as in England, that the aristocracy are always the first to truckle to power and the last to resist it. The whole of their patriotism is usually confined to studying how they shall best retain possession of their estates.

The tendency of the diffusion of wealth to give strength and security to government, is very strikingly illustrated in a paper published in the Appendix to Pinkerton's History of Scotland under the Stuarts, exhibiting a view of that country in the sixteenth century. "The defect of the commonalty," says the writer, "viz. that there are so few of the middle rank of subjects amongst, that are able to live competently and honestly of their own, and by that means are a band to tie together the two extremes, viz. the higher sort and the rascallity, and to sway with the better and more peaceable part, as having something to lose, is another great cause of the distemper and disquietness of the realm. For by that means the whole commonalty in a manner, a few excepted which are of no reckoning in comparison of the whole,

being beggarly and rascall, are ever apt for faction and tumult when occasion serveth; as having nothing to lose, and hoping to get something when they may fish in a troubled sea, and so follow their lords' quarrels either amongst themselves or against the Prince."

The victory of Culloden gave a strength to the Hanoverian government which it had never before possessed. The rising had shown them that from the state of society and habits of England, they had nothing to fear from that country; that however numerous the disaffected party in England might be, a powerful invasion from abroad, and the arms of the Highlanders could alone render it formidable; and now that the power was in their hands, they very wisely determined not to leave a single Highland clan in a situation to be again troublesome to government. The English ministers, in the expressive language of the author of Waverly, *would have deserved the gallows as fools*, if they had not embraced that opportunity of destroying clanship for ever, and reducing the Highlands to the dominion of the law. The hopes of the Jacobites and Tories were completely dashed. The claims of the family of Stuart began at length to appear obsolete in the eyes of their partisans; and on the commencement of his late majesty's reign, the Jacobites were reduced to the members of a few nonjuring congregations, and that alliance was formed between the Tories and the throne which placed both in their natural relations towards each other.

The events of the more stormy period, which terminated with the revolution, a period productive beyond example of great and splendid talents, have been related by some of the greatest of the actors in them, and reviewed by the most acute and profound, though it has been said not always the most accurate or rigidly impartial, of historians. But the history of England, during the comparatively tranquil period which has elapsed since the revolution,

a period, though possessing less of what is calculated to strike the imagination, yet presenting abundant matter of great importance to the politician, remains yet to be written. Many attempts have been made to supply the deficiency; and the work of Smollet, in particular, has always enjoyed a considerable share of popularity. But Smollet was neither an impartial nor a profound historian; and, besides, much valuable information relative to the transactions of which he treats has only lately come to light. The materials for the future historian are now ample; and it is a great satisfaction to those who have the literary glory of their country at heart, to know, that a writer * in the maturity of his powers, whose attention from his early youth has been directed to the principles of government, whose knowledge is only equalled by his genius, who, with the exception of Burke, is the only one of our great writers who has been at the same time one of our greatest orators, and whose candour and impartiality will not allow him to be fettered by the trammels of party, has undertaken the arduous task of continuing the English history up to the æra of the French revolution.

Having given this brief outline of the events connected with the great struggle between the episcopalian and presbyterian, the Jacobite and Whig principles, of which the rebellion of 1745 formed a section, we shall now proceed to advert more particularly to some of the circumstances of that rebellion.

If justice has been done to no part of the history of this country during the past century, it has, least of all, been done to the Rebellion; as to which the most incorrect ideas are yet generally entertained. The secret springs of that insurrection, the circumstances which determined many of the movements of the

* Sir James Mackintosh.

rebels, the character of the Prince who was at its head, the conduct of the victorious party, are yet in a great measure unknown to the public. The history of Home, which appeared nearly sixty years after the Rebellion, and from which, previous to its publication, considerable expectations were entertained, added little to our knowledge on any of the above important points. This was partly owing to the defective information of the author, and partly owing to his fear of giving offence. Having himself borne arms in the Rebellion as a volunteer, in aid of the government, he was not a person to whom the leading Jacobites would willingly confide their secrets; and it was rather unreasonable to suppose that he could easily reconcile an account, not of the necessary severities, but of the lawless, disgraceful, and unnecessary cruelties which stained the laurels of the victors, with his feelings of gratitude towards the family from which he had so long enjoyed a considerable pension. Besides, the writer of this introduction can assert, of his own knowledge, that Mr. Home submitted his history in manuscript to some of the members of the royal family. But a faithful narrative of the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland, and of the lengths to which he allowed his army to go, in gratifying their rapacity, and in taking a brutal revenge for the disgrace with which they had been so often covered, could hardly have been an acceptable present to any member of the family to which he belonged. Of this Mr. Home had too much penetration not to be fully aware; and though he was too honourable a man to state that as true, which he knew or believed to be false, he preferred a prudent silence on many important transactions of the Rebellion, to a more comprehensive statement, which might have been less gratifying to his benefactors. His book affords materials for the historian, but ought not to be considered a history.

The author of Waverley has, in that work, and some of his other writings, sufficiently proved his ability to become the historian of the last struggle of departed clanship. He seems acquainted with every incident illustrative of national manners, individual character, or the history of particular families; and he possesses a power of picturesque delineation which peculiarly qualifies him for the task of historian of the wild and strongly-marked sons of the mountains. In this minute knowledge and power of picturesque delineation, he bears a strong resemblance to John Müller, the great historian of Switzerland;* and if he has less learning than the Swiss, he is totally free from his occasional affectation. He would not execute his task the worse, for entertaining a sort of secret predilection, which his better judgment can hardly enable him to suppress, for "the days when each man's arms clattered round him when he walked the hills."

But even the author of Waverley seems to be under the influence of some erroneous impressions respecting the Rebellion. He has uniformly attempted to hold up Prince Charles Edward as a man possessed of great strength of mind, of a generous, bold, and daring character, and even of commanding talents; and he has attributed the weakness he afterwards displayed, which he was aware could not be easily reconciled with that character, to the disappointment of his hopes in the Rebellion. "Let us be just," he says, "to the memory of the unfortunate:—without courage he had never made the attempt — without address and military talent he had never kept together his own desultory

* Called the German Tacitus, not because he translated Tacitus, as a writer in the Quarterly Review, in an article which reflects no honour on that publication, ignorantly supposes, but because he possesses in an eminent degree the qualities for which Tacitus is distinguished. Müller never translated Tacitus.

bands, or discomfited the more experienced soldiers of his enemy; and, finally, without patience, resolution, and fortitude, he could never have supported his cause so long, under successive disappointments; or fallen, at last, with honour by an accumulated and overwhelming pressure." This is the language of the panegyrist, and not of the historian.

The truth is, and of this abundant proofs will be seen in the following work and notes attached to it, that Charles was always an exceedingly weak man, destitute of any of those high qualities attributed to him by the author of Waverley; that he was indebted to circumstances alone, and the skill and resolution of some of those who attached themselves to his fortunes, for all the success that attended an expedition which he was by no means qualified to direct; and that he displayed, during that expedition, none of the virtues for which he here receives credit.

The landing in the Highlands without followers might be courageous or might be rash; hazardous in the extreme it certainly was. We term an act courageous or rash, according as the hazard to which the actor exposes himself is necessary or uncalled for, and according to the degree of probability there is that it will be attended with any useful result. But, admitting that the chance of timely aid from France was so small as to justify him in taking this desperate step, admitting that the obstinate refusal to comply with Lochiel's request, to remain concealed for a few days, till he and his other friends should meet together and concert what steps ought to be taken, was not childish impatience, and that in all this his conduct was not rash, but wise and courageous, it by no means follows that it required address and military talents to keep together his bands; that he contributed, in any respect, except by his presence, to the enabling these bands to discomfit

the more experienced soldiers of the enemy; or that it was owing to his patience, resolution, and fortitude, his cause was so long supported, or that he fell at last with honour.

In the first place, the determination of one powerful chief, of high character, by whom the Highland Jacobites were guided upon almost every occasion, induced a number of other chiefs to join his standard. In an enterprise like this, he who once draws the sword must throw away the scabbard; and they had all the most powerful of motives for exerting themselves to the utmost by their valour and their interest to promote the common cause. Exertion held out to them a prospect of honours, wealth, and preferment; an opposite line of conduct held out to them the prospect of loss of power, and beggary, or a disgraceful death on the scaffold. Hence, though measures were more than once adopted decidedly contrary to the wishes of the Prince, every officer had the success of the cause earnestly at heart; and it is expressly said by Lord George Murray, in a letter dated from Lochaber, May 16. 1746, "that from the beginning of the whole affair till that time, (the advance to Nairn,) there had never been the least dispute or misunderstanding among any of the officers."

In the next place, it is well known that Lord George Murray formed the plans of the battles, and directed all the military movements, which were attended with success. "At Gladsmuir," he says, "the plan of which attack I had formed, I was the last that passed the defile of the first line, and the first that attacked." "At Clifton," he says, "I own *I disobeyed orders*; but what I did was the only safe and honourable measure I could take, and it succeeded. At the battle of Falkirk I never received an order or message from His Royal Highness till the battle was over." The author of the following Memoirs, who, from having acted in

the character of aide-de-camp to the Prince and Lord George Murray, had good opportunities of knowing both, speaks uniformly with great contempt of the former, and so far from attributing any part of the success to him, he does not hesitate to say, "that whenever he interfered he did mischief." "Had Prince Charles," he says, "slept during the whole of the expedition, and allowed Lord George to act for him, according to his own judgment, there is every reason for supposing he would have found the crown of Great Britain on his head when he woke." He could have no motive for traducing the Prince, by whom he had been favourably treated; and Lord George Murray, he says, expressed pique on account of his quitting him. His judgment respecting Lord George Murray could hardly, therefore, be biassed by an unfair motive; and, indeed, the unreserved manner in which he speaks of his failings, will not allow us, for a moment, to entertain any such suspicion. Hear, then, the language he uses with regard to the part Lord George acted:—"Lord George Murray, who had the charge of all the details of our army, and *who had the sole direction of it*, possessed a natural genius for military operations; and was indeed a man of surprising talents, which, had they been cultivated by the study of military tactics, would unquestionably have rendered him one of the greatest generals of the age. He was tall and robust, and brave in the highest degree; conducting the Highlanders in the most heroic manner, and always the first to rush sword in hand into the midst of the enemy. He used to say, when we advanced to the charge, "I do not ask you, my lads, to go before, but merely to follow me!" a very energetic harangue, admirably calculated to excite the ardour of the Highlanders; but which would sometimes have had a better effect in the mouth of the Prince. He

slept little, was continually occupied with all manner of details, and was altogether most indefatigable, combining and directing alone all our operations: *in a word, he was the only person capable of conducting our army.* His colleague, the Duke of Perth, though brave, even to excess, every way honourable, and possessed of a mild and gentle dispositon, was of very limited abilities, and interfered with nothing. Lord George was vigilant, active, and diligent; *his plans were always judiciously formed,* and he carried them promptly and vigorously into execution. However, with an infinity of good qualities, he was not without his defects: proud, haughty, blunt, and imperious, he wished to have the exclusive ordering of every thing; and feeling his superiority, he would listen to no advice. There were few persons, it is true, in our army sufficiently versed in military affairs to be capable of advising him as to the conducting of his operations. The Highland chiefs, like their vassals, possessed the most heroic courage; but they knew no other manœuvre, than that of rushing upon the enemy sword in hand, as soon as they saw them, without order and without discipline. Lord George could receive still less assistance from the subaltern Irish officers, who, with the exception of Mr. Sullivan, possessed no other knowledge than that which usually forms the whole stock of subalterns, namely, the knowing how to mount and quit guard. We can hardly, therefore, be astonished that Lord George, possessing so many qualities requisite to form a general, should have gained the hearts of the Highlanders; and a general who has the confidence of his soldiers may perform wonders. Hence, possessing the art of employing men to advantage, without having had time to discipline them, but taking them merely as they came from the plough, he made them perform prodigies of valour

against various English armies, always greatly superior in number to that of the Prince, though the English troops are allowed to be the best in Europe. Nature had formed him for a great warrior; he did not require the accidental advantage of birth."—Charles was the nominal head of the enterprise, and his presence was necessary to it; but the remaining with his army seems to have constituted his only merit; and to attribute to him the successes at Gladsmuir, Clifton, and Falkirk, does not seem a whit more reasonable than to attribute the victory of Blenheim to Queen Anne, or that of Waterloo to George the Fourth. It is repeatedly stated in these Memoirs, and has been stated by other authorities entitled to credit, that the Irishmen, who enjoyed his confidence, and whose counsels the Prince followed on all occasions, were, with one exception, men of the most limited capacity; a circumstance which, of itself, proves that he could not have possessed any of the qualifications of a good commander. Not that great princes have not been sometimes fond of low and worthless companions; but it is one thing to be fond of the society of such men, and another to be guided by their advice in matters of importance.

Then as to his *patience*, *resolution*, and *fortitude*. If we are to believe the reports of those who shared his intimacy, so far from showing fortitude, he was quite unmanned whenever he experienced the least opposition or contradiction. "Charles," says John Hay, his occasional secretary, "who had marched a-foot at the head of the men all the way, was obliged (in the retreat from Derby) to get on horseback, for he could not walk and hardly stand, as was always the case with him when he was cruelly used." It is in adversity that patience, resolution, and fortitude can be displayed; and there is ample proof in these

Memoirs, that if he had possessed these qualities in an ordinary degree, he would not have abandoned the Highlanders as he did, when his cause was by no means hopeless. "All that we can say," observes the author of these Memoirs, "is, that this Prince entered on his expedition rashly, and without foreseeing the personal dangers to which he was about to expose himself; that, in carrying it on, he always took care not to expose his person to the fire of the enemy; and that he abandoned it at a time when he had a thousand times more reason to hope for success than when he left Paris to undertake it."

He persisted in urging the night-attack, at Nairn, when no hope of success remained; he refused, while it was yet time, to abandon Inverness, and take a strong ground on the other side of the water of Nairn, while Clunie Macpherson was expected every moment on that side, merely because his Irish and French friends disliked the hardships of a hill-warfare; and exposed himself, under every possible disadvantage, to the attack of a superior enemy; and, the first moment that fortune declared against him, he allowed his tutor to lay hold of the bridle of his horse and turn him about, and abandoned his cause without the least effort to retrieve his fortunes, or making his appearance among his followers, who entreated, nay implored him not to desert them. He fell; but he certainly did not fall with honour. His character, as was observed by Hume, exhibited "an unaccountable mixture of temerity and timidity." In the notes to the following Memoirs enough is stated to show, that Charles Edward was not the generous and heroic youth his deluded followers fondly conceived him to be; a delusion the author of Waverley has exerted his talents to perpetuate. "Lord Marischal," says David Hume, "thought there was no vice so mean or

atrocious of which he was not capable;" and Lord Marischal was a man of the highest honour and integrity. Helvetius, a generous and honourable man, also described him to Hume, from personal knowledge, as "the most unworthy of all mortals." Dr. King, who says he "had some long conversations with him here, and, for some years after, held a constant correspondence with him, not indeed by letters, but by messengers, (gentlemen of fortune, honour, and veracity, on whose relations he could entirely depend,) who were occasionally dispatched to him," — and that he was as "well qualified as any man in England to draw a just character of him,"—gives a portrait which completely agrees with the accounts of Lord Marischal and Helvetius. Alfieri, who reluctantly speaks of him or his brother, "*laudare non li potendo, nè li volendo biasimare,*" is, however, obliged, in accounting for the dreadful situation to which he had reduced an amiable wife, to state circumstances which it is unnecessary here to repeat, and which prove him to have been an odious and brutal monster.

History should be just. The young Pretender acted with irresolution and pusillanimity, but his conqueror acted with a more than savage barbarity; and though it would have been unpardonable in the Hanoverian government to have allowed the Highlands to remain in a state calculated to give them any alarm in future, and though measures of firmness and even severity were necessary, yet nothing could justify the acts of atrocity which followed the victory of Culloden. The author of the article in the Review so often alluded to, justly condemns the sentiment expressed by the editor of the Culloden Papers, "that no blame can attach to the Duke of Cumberland for them," but does not seem to disapprove of the drawing a veil over the conduct of the Duke, "out

of no respect or tenderness to the memory of that Prince, but in justice to the far different sentiments of many members of his illustrious family." But history ought to spare the feelings of no family. The actions of public men are the property of the public; and it is not more necessary to bestow praise where praise is due, than it is to censure where censure is deserved. The ties which connect men with their species are seldom so effectually loosened, even in individuals of the most brutal and unfeeling dispositions, as to render them altogether insensible to the detestation either of their contemporaries or posterity; and the practice of holding up, in all cases, the conduct of the cruel spoiler, the unjust and merciless oppressor, to merited infamy, by teaching men in power that they can have no hope of escaping the tribunal of history, even if they should succeed in silencing their contemporaries, is one of the safeguards of humanity, which a man, who has at all reflected on the motives of human action, would be least willing to renounce.

The Duke of Cumberland carried fire and sword through a whole country, driving off the cattle, the only means by which the people subsisted, and leaving those who did not perish by the sword to die of famine. Many poor people who never offended, females, decrepid old men, and helpless infants became the victims of this savage ferocity. Mothers with babes at their breast were often found dead on the hills, literally starved to death. As a specimen of these atrocities, take the following letter from a clergyman in the North, published in the Scots Magazine for June, 1746: "As the most of this parish is burnt to ashes, and all the cattle belonging to the rebels carried off by His Majesty's forces, there is no such thing as money or pennyworth to be got in this desolate place. My

family is now much increased by the wives and infants of those in the rebellion in my parish, crowding for a mouthful of bread to keep them from starving, which no good Christian can refuse." Parties of soldiers, while the supreme court of justice was sitting, and there was no obstacle to the due execution of the laws, even within a few miles of Edinburgh, without warrant from a civil court, seized the goods and effects, not of persons convicted as rebels, but of whomsoever they pleased to style rebels, exposed them to public auction, and arbitrarily disposed of the proceeds, to the ruin of the individuals themselves, and the defrauding of their lawful creditors. If a tradesman happened to displease an officer, he would order him to be flogged. Thus one Maiben, a wig-maker in Stirling, happening to have some words with an officer respecting a transaction in the way of his business, Lieut. Col. Howard ordered him to be flogged, and this sentence was carried into execution in defiance of the formal protest of the magistrates of Stirling and their demand to have him given up to them. After this scene of violence and plunder had been carried the most daring lengths, a number of actions were brought in the court of session, against officers of the army, by men who had been thus stript of their property; and on the 18th of December, 1746, Captain Hamilton, of St. George's dragoons, one of the most noted of these military robbers, under the sanction of the royal duke, was condemned to make restitution; a sentence which decided the fate of other actions against him and his brother officers, and put a stop to farther depredations. It required no small degree of fortitude to do justice in those times; and we are not to wonder that Lord President Forbes, to whom the merit of this sentence is due, should have been complimented on account of it by Sir Andrew Mitchell, as the saviour of his country. "I

am persuaded," he says, in a letter in the Culloden Papers, "that Providence intends that you should once more save your country; and, as an earnest of it, I consider your decree in the case of Captain Hamilton, the honour of which is ascribed to you." The ingratitude of George II. to Forbes, to whose efforts and diversion in the North it was owing that the whole of the disaffected clans did not pour down their forces on the South, and to whom that monarch, therefore, probably owed his continuance on the throne, an ingratitude which preyed on the warm and generous Forbes, and brought him to an untimely grave, has been often alluded to. The writer of an article on the Culloden papers in the Edinburgh Review, says, "We cannot doubt that one of the popular accounts is the true one, which ascribes it all to his having plainly, and even in the king's presence, expressed his decided disapprobation of the violence of the royal army." The condemnation of the son of the monarch involved in the decision to which so much importance was then attached, serves to confirm that opinion. Let us, however, do justice to George II. The Duke of Cumberland was his son; and though the whole people are frequently said to be the children of the monarch, it must be remembered this is only a figure. George could occasionally be magnanimous; for when the Pretender revisited this country, some years afterwards, he allowed him to depart, though he was aware of his presence, and could easily have secured him.

It may now be proper to speak more particularly respecting the following Memoirs.

The Chevalier de Johnstone, the author, was the only son of James Johnstone, merchant in Edinburgh. This family, by descent and alliance, were connected with some of the first houses

in Scotland. His sister Cecilia was married to a son of Lord Rollo, who succeeded to the estate and title in 1765. The Chevalier de Johnstone appears in his youth to have moved in the best society which the Scottish capital then contained, and to have been on the most intimate footing with the well-known Lady Jane Douglas, mother of the present Lord Douglas, who uniformly treated him with all the tenderness and regard of a parent. Educated in episcopalian and jacobite principles, on the first intelligence of the landing of Prince Charles Edward, he made his escape from Edinburgh to Duncrub, the seat of Lord Rollo, near Perth, where he waited the arrival of the prince in that town, and was one of the first of the Low-country gentlemen who flocked to his standard. By the Misses Rollo, his relations, he was introduced to the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, the leaders of the rebel army, the latter of whom invited him to become his aid-de-camp, an invitation which he accepted. He acted for a considerable period in that capacity, and also as assistant aid-de-camp to the Prince himself. From the Prince he received a captain's commission, immediately after the battle of Preston-pans, and worn out with the incessant hardships of his situation of aid-de-camp, that hardly left him one hour in the four and twenty for repose, he immediately began to raise a company, with which, when completed, he joined the Duke of Perth's regiment. He bore a part in all the movements of the rebel army, and after the battle of Culloden, remained for some time in concealment in different places in the North, and then proceeded in disguise to Edinburgh, where he again remained for some time concealed in the house of Lady Jane Douglas at Drumshugh. He made his escape from Scotland to England, in the disguise of a Scots pedlar, and after remaining some time in

London, he embarked with Lady Jane Douglas at Harwich, for Holland. It was his intention, on first reaching the continent, to proceed to Russia, where by means of two uncles, Generals Hewit and Douglas, who possessed great influence in that country, he could have established himself to advantage; but he allowed himself to be persuaded to go to Paris, where he was bouyed up for some years with hopes of another expedition to Scotland. He obtained a share in the fund set apart by the government for Scots exiles, but, tired of an inactive life, he entered the French service, and was sent to the French possessions in North America, from which he returned to France on the conquest of these possessions by the English.

The Chevalier de Johnstone seems to have been a man of an open, decided, and rather impetuous character. By his mother he had been much indulged, and the Jacobites of that day, like the Cavaliers, of whom they were the descendants, willingly excluded whatever partook of restraint on enjoyment or temperance of any kind, from their code of morality. His youth, he tells us, had been stormy, and Lady Jane Douglas urged his father to allow him to gratify his wish to pay a visit to his uncles in Russia when he was under twenty years of age, as it would withdraw him for a time from his dissolute companions. In his concealment in the house of Lady Jane Douglas he first acquired a taste for reading, which he retained during the rest of his life. That he was a man of talents and of an amiable disposition is proved by the confidence which he successively enjoyed, of M.M. des Herbiers and the Count de Raimond, governors of the island of Cape-Breton, and M.M. de Levis and Montcalm, the commanders of the forces in Canada, to whom he acted as aid-de-camp, and who entertained for him a warm friendship. By the death of his

friends and protectors, or some unfortunate accident or other, the cup of preferment seems to have always been dashed from his lips the moment he was on the point of tasting it; and he was left to languish in comfortless poverty, with the prospect of dying in want of the necessaries of life, notwithstanding the most meritorious services to his adopted country, where the most degrading petticoat influence then regulated the disposal of almost every public employment, and where corruption and profligacy reigned in their most foul and disgusting forms.

The Memoirs appear, from circumstances alluded to in them, such as a recent financial measure of the Abbé Terray, to have been written shortly after the return of the author to France. From the interval which had elapsed between the Rebellion and their composition, and his absence from his native country, the author has occasionally fallen into unavoidable inaccuracy with respect to minor matters. But his impressions, with respect to all the great transactions of the Rebellion are clear and strong; and on many of them, such as the retreat from Derby, the meeting of the vanquished Highlanders at Ruthven, and the desertion of Prince Charles, he throws a valuable light. From the confidential situation he filled, he had good opportunities of knowing the characters of the leading personages in the Rebellion; and his portraits bear every mark of penetration, candour, and impartiality. The future historian of this period cannot, with a due regard to truth, pourtray Prince Charles Edward, Lord George Murray, or the Duke of Perth, as they actually were, without availing himself of the assistance of our author. His account, too, of the French service, in the reign of Louis XV., towards the conclusion of the work, is by no means the least valuable part of it.

It can hardly be necessary to apologise to the Scots presbyte-

rians, of the present day, for the harsh manner in which the author speaks of their fathers. It is difficult, in our times, to form any idea of the animosity which the episcopalians and presbyterians formerly bore towards each other. The author merely speaks the common language of his party. Take, for instance, the following passage, out of thousands of the same description, in the Rehearsals, a periodical work which first appeared in 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, and 1708, and was republished so late as 1750, written by Mr. Lesley, an eminent non-juring clergyman, possessed of great talents, the author of many other political and controversial tracts, during the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, and the intimate friend of Dr. King: — "It has been an old observation, that wherever presbytery was established, there witchcraft and adultery were particularly rampant. As one said of Scotland, in the days of presbytery, they burn all the old women for witches, and keep the young ones for w——s. The records of the stools of repentance in Scotland would astonish you, where such multitudes of men and women come daily to make their show for adultery and fornication, that it has almost ceased to be a shame; and those so inclined go thither to know where they may find their game, which has so increased, that the commission of the General Assembly there have this very month petitioned the Parliament to help them in particular against the abominable sin of adultery, which does much abound, say they in their said petition. Witchcraft is a spiritual adultery, and the carnal commonly accompanies it; and rebellion is called witchcraft. And it is particularly remarkable of presbytery, that it never came yet into any country upon the face of the earth but by rebellion: — that mark lies upon it."

"The tree is known by his fruit." The presbyterians may

now triumphantly appeal to that test. Whatever else the alliance between church and state produces, experience has proved that it certainly does not tend to improve the morals and character of a people. The long ladder of church preferment may secure to the state a trusty band of dependents, ready for every political emergency; but, alas! the steps of that ladder are not mounted by labouring in the vineyard of the Lord. The aristocracy may be unable to provide for their younger sons without rich livings, and rich livings are incompatible with presbyterian equality; and, therefore, both the crown and the aristocracy may find their account in the present state of the church of England; but to the power of the crown and the convenience of the aristocracy, the moral and religious improvement of the English people is sacrificed.

In Scotland, the mass of the population has been gradually raised from the lowest depth of degradation by presbytery, and the institutions which it set on foot and still watches over, to a proud elevation among the people of the British empire. The austerity of the presbyterians may seem to throw an unnecessary gloom over human life; and it cannot be denied that they formerly carried their hatred of pleasure to an unwarrantable excess; but the open profligacy of their opponents, of the mischiefs of which they had seen such abundant proofs, the keen struggle which they so long maintained, and their almost unparalleled sufferings, could hardly fail to throw them into the extreme of self-denial. To these times succeeded others of a different complexion, in which nature asserted her dominion over the presbyterians, and their austerity has long ceased to pass the bounds of propriety. The writer of these observations, whose infancy and early youth were passed among presbyterians, still

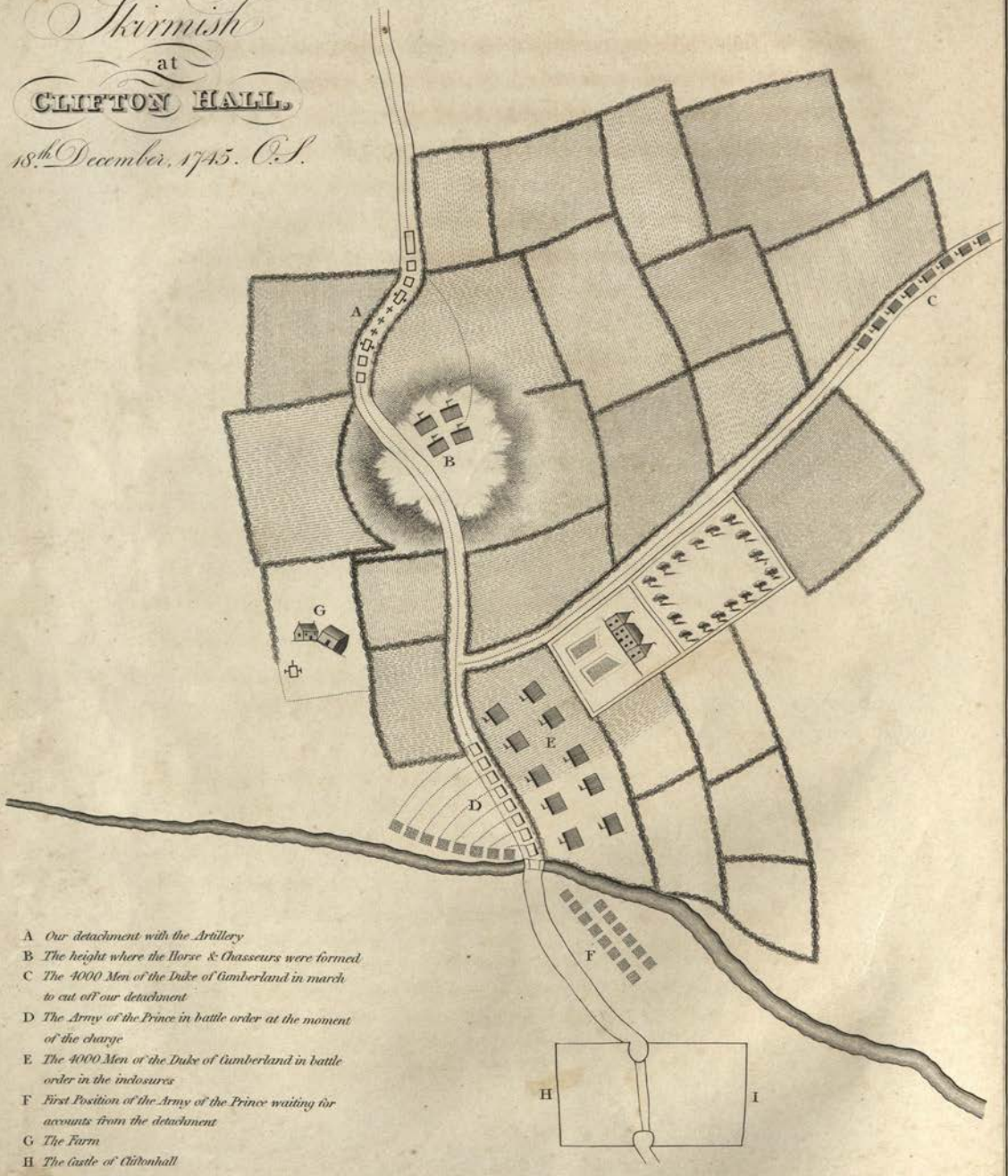
more strict than those of the established church, once thought many of their observances an inconvenient and unnecessary restraint. But when he calls to mind the cheerfulness possessed by the working classes of Scotland, their kind and social disposition, their festivity and their general happiness, and reflects at the same time on the benefits derived from habits of early restraint in after-life, the mischiefs of indulgence, and that obstacles in the way of enjoyment tend often to enhance its value, laying all other considerations aside, he is inclined to doubt whether even the mass of worldly happiness is not increased by what may seem, at first sight, an abridgement of it. The native of Scotland, who visits other countries, will often, like Bruce in Abyssinia *, when viewing the men around him, and their dispositions and habits, be forced to remark the wide interval in the moral scale which separates them from the peaceful and intelligent inhabitants of the valleys of Tweed, Annan, and Clyde, and to cherish a feeling of gratitude to the memory of those who laid the foundation of that superiority. The author of these Memoirs involuntarily pays a high tribute to the character of the presbyterians whom he abuses. — Though he belonged to a party whom they abhorred, he was more than once indebted to them for his life, and they concealed him in their houses, at a time when that concealment was attended with the utmost danger to themselves, and when to have discovered him would have been attended with a considerable reward.

* See his Reflections on discovering the Source of the Nile.

ERRATA.

Page 56. line 21. note, *for* "Macdonald of Glengary," *read* "the second son of Macdonald of Glengary."
148. Dele the note.

Skirmish at CLIFTON HALL, 18th December, 1745. O.S.



A *Our detachment with the Artillery*
B *The height where the Horse & Chasseurs were formed*
C *The 4000 Men of the Duke of Cumberland in march to cut off our detachment*
D *The Army of the Prince in battle order at the moment of the charge*
E *The 4000 Men of the Duke of Cumberland in battle order in the inclosures*
F *First Position of the Army of the Prince waiting for accounts from the detachment*
G *The Farm*
H *The Castle of Clifton hall*
I *Town of Penrith*

London, Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, Aug.t 1820.

Sid.t Hall, Sculp. Bury St. Bloomsb.t

MEMOIRS

OF

THE REBELLION OF 1745,

&c. &c.

PRINCE Charles Edward Stuart, grandson of James the Second, who was dethroned in 1688, unable to support any longer the endless delays in the embarkation of the troops, destined by the court of France for an invasion of Scotland, at length formed the resolution * of repairing secretly to that country, and throwing himself into the arms of the Scotch. Their fidelity and attachment

* In a letter from the historian Hume, to Sir John Pringle, dated 10th of February, 1773, and published in the Gentleman's Magazine of May, 1788, some circumstances are stated which, if true, give no very high idea of the *resolution* of Charles, in entering on this expedition. After quoting the opinions of Lord Mareschal, and Helvetius (in whose house he was concealed nearly two years), as to the worthlessness of his character, opinions which so many accounts serve to confirm, Mr. Hume, in relating a conversation which he had with Helvetius at Paris, makes the French philosopher say, "I have been assured, when he went down to Nantes to embark on his expedition to Scotland, he took fright, and refused to go on board; and his attendants, thinking the matter gone too far, and that they would be affronted for his cowardice, carried him in the night-time into the ship, *pieds et mains lies.*" — It does not appear that Helvetius mentioned the authority on which he made this statement; so that we cannot know the degree of credit to which it is entitled.

to his family had been amply proved, in the different attempts made by them since the Revolution, to replace the Stuarts on the throne *; and he entertained a hope of succeeding in his enterprise by the efforts of his subjects alone, without the assistance of foreign powers.

He embarked at Belleisle, on the 3d † of July, 1745, on board a small frigate ‡, escorted by the Elizabeth, a ship of sixty guns. These two vessels were armed and fitted out at the expense of Mr. Welsh, a merchant of Nantes, for the conveyance of the Prince to Scotland; but the court of France afterwards reimbursed him for all the expenses of the expedition. ||

The Prince was only accompanied by seven individuals, viz. the Duke of Athol, attainted and an exile since the year 1715;

* The attachment to the House of Stuart was general only in the Highlands, which did not contain one-eighth part of the population of Scotland. — The Presbyterians of the Low Country were, with very few exceptions, among the most decided of the adherents of the Revolution; though many of them were not yet quite reconciled to the union with England.

† In these memoirs the old style, which was used in England in the period which they embrace, is always observed in the different dates.

‡ Mr. Home states, that Charles left Nantes, on the 20th of June, in a fishing-boat: went on board the Doutelle, a frigate of sixteen guns, at St. Nazaire, and was joined by the Elizabeth, near Belleisle.

|| Mr. Home states, that Rutledge and Walch, two merchants of Irish extraction, the sons of refugees who had followed the fortune of James the Second, (the former settled at Dunkirk, and the latter at Nantes,) having become adventurers in privateering, had obtained from the court of France a grant of an old man-of-war, of sixty guns; and purchased a frigate of sixteen guns, which they were equipping for a cruise in the North Seas, when Lord Clare, afterwards Marshal Thomond, introduced them to Charles Stuart; and proposed that they should lend their ships to him for this expedition. This they not only did, but furnished him with all the money and arms they could procure. The sum of money furnished by them to him amounted to 3800*l.*; which was afterwards repaid by the old Pretender, by a bill drawn upon John Haliburton, at Dunkirk, in favour of Rutledge.

Macdonel, an Irishman; Kelly, an Irishman, formerly secretary to the Bishop of Rochester; Sullivan, an Irishman; Sheridan, an Irishman, who had been governor to the Prince; Macdonald, a Scotsman; Strickland, an Irishman *; and Michel, his valet de chambre, an Italian: a most extraordinary band of followers, no doubt, when we consider the daring enterprise on which they were entering, which was no less than that of attempting to wrest the crown of Great Britain from the house of Hanover; which had been so long in possession of it. Mr. Sullivan, who had been aide-de-camp to Marshal de Maillebois, in Italy, was the only individual of the suite who possessed any knowledge of military affairs. The other Irishmen, drawn into Scotland by the allurement which the enterprise held out to them of making their fortune; were extremely injurious to the interests of the Prince, from the bad advice they gave him; for unfortunately they enjoyed his full confidence. †

The Prince, having lost all hopes of landing in Scotland with an army of regular troops, ought, at least, to have been accompanied by officers distinguished for their talents in the art of war, well qualified to combine with judgment, and conduct with pru-

* Strickland is called an Englishman by Mr. Home; who includes among the attendants Buchanan, a messenger sent to Rome, by Cardinal de Tencin.

† If there is any ground for the charge, brought by Dr. King against Sir Thomas Sheridan, the governor of Charles, who, of all the Irish, would naturally have most influence over him, we can have little difficulty in giving credit to the above accusation; in so far, at least, as regards that gentleman. By way of accounting for the great ignorance of Charles, which surprised him much, considering the noble opportunities he must always have had in Rome, "*that nursery of all the elegant and liberal arts and sciences*," the Doctor tells us: "His Governor was a Protestant, and I am apt to believe *purposely neglected his education*, of which it is surmised he made a merit to the English Ministry; *for he was always supposed to be their pensioner.*" — Lord George Murray also attributes the ruin of the cause to him. — TRANS.

dence the operations of the field; possessing minds fertile in resources, enlightened by experience, and capable of discerning and of turning to advantage every momentary success which fortune might present. Officers of this description, at the head of his army, and in his councils, would have rendered the disembarkation of regular troops less necessary, and enabled him to avoid those faults which eventually produced the ruin of his cause in Scotland; for this Prince, though he gained battles, was never able to derive from them any of the advantages to which they ought to have led. It is certain that no general officer in France would have refused to embark with the Prince, in an enterprise so well calculated to procure him instant celebrity throughout all Europe, the attention of which was fixed on this expedition. It was a rare opportunity for developing talents, for the display of which an opportunity might never occur in a more numerous army.

The Elizabeth was attacked, in the latitude of 47° 57′ about 39 leagues to the westward of the Lizard-point, by the Lion, an English man-of-war, of sixty guns. The two vessels were of the same force; and the fight was maintained, with the utmost fury and obstinacy, for the space of six hours, and until they were both so greatly disabled that they could hardly be kept afloat. When the combat ceased, each vessel was obliged to consult its safety by endeavouring to gain some port without delay. The Prince, who in his little frigate beheld this obstinate conflict, was extremely uneasy as to the result, as the Elizabeth had on board a considerable quantity of arms and military stores; and he ordered his vessel to advance under her stern, for the purpose of ascertaining her real situation; when he was informed that she had lost a great number of men; that the captain and

several other officers were killed, besides many soldiers of the regiment of Maurepas, who had volunteered their service in the expedition; that the vessel was so pierced with balls that she could with difficulty be kept from sinking; and that they would be obliged to put into the first port of France which they could reach, being totally incapable of continuing the voyage. Thus, the Lion and the Elizabeth, equally shattered by the combat, were obliged to regain their respective coasts; and the Prince, in his frigate, continued his course for Scotland, where he landed at Loch Sunart, on the 24th of July *, and took up his quarters in the house of Mr. Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart. There he was soon joined by Cameron of Lochiel, with his clan of Camerons; by Macdonald of Clanronald, with his clan of Macdonalds; by the clan of the Stuarts of Appin; and by the clans of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, Glengary, and Glenco. The Macdonalds of Keppoch commenced hostilities in their march to join him, by attacking two companies of the Royal Scots; whom they made prisoners, and presented to the Prince, as a happy omen of his future success.

No positive information of the descent of the Prince reached Edinburgh till the 8th of August; when a courier, dispatched by Campbell of Lochnell, with a letter to the magistrates of that city, containing a circumstantial account of his progress from his first landing, was received. † As King George was then abroad

* According to Mr. Home, Charles came to an anchor in the bay of Lochnanuagh, between Moidart and Arisaig, and landed at Boradale, on the 25th of July.

† The first intelligence which reached Edinburgh of the landing of the Pretender, was contained in a letter from Mr. Campbell of Aird, steward to the Duke of Argyle, in Mull, to Mr. Campbell of Stonefield, the sheriff-depute of Argyleshire, transmitted by him to the Lord Justice Clerk, then at Roseneath, a seat of the Duke

in Hanover, the Regency, which he had appointed to govern the kingdom in his absence, issued orders to Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief for Scotland, to assemble, with the utmost diligence, all the regular troops in Scotland, and to march against the Prince, without loss of time, in order to crush this enterprise in its birth: and it is highly probable that he would have succeeded, had he conducted himself as he ought to have done. But he lost his advantage over the enemy, by delaying, like Fabius, (not indeed with the wisdom of Fabius,) to come to an engagement, although his army was far superior in number to that which he had to encounter. Perhaps he hoped, that, by allowing the Highland army to increase, by the continual junction of the partisans of the Prince, he would gain more honour by their defeat, and render himself of more importance to the court of London.*

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of Argyle, and by the Lord Justice Clerk to Sir John Cope; who received it on the morning of the 8th of August. Mr. Campbell of Aird says, in the letter, — "Any authority I have for this news is not to be relied on, so as to give it credit on the whole; but that some vessel is come to these parts, with strangers on board, is probable."— But, on the 9th of August, the Lord President Forbes called on Sir John Cope, with a letter he had just received by express, "from a gentleman of consequence in the Highlands," giving an account of the arrival of the vessel; which information the President believed to be true. — See Appendix to the Report of the Proceedings on Cope's Trial, p. 114, 115, 116.

* The Author has adopted an opinion respecting General Cope's conduct, which was pretty generally entertained both in England and Scotland; but which the evidence adduced on his trial proves to have been utterly unfounded. From the moment the Lord President Forbes showed him, on the 2d of July, a letter from a gentleman of consideration in the Highlands, acquainting him with a report current there, that the Pretender's eldest son was to land somewhere in the Highlands that summer; though both the gentleman in question and the Lord President held the report to be groundless; there appears in the correspondence between the General and the Secretary of State, a continual apprehension on the part of the former of inva-

General Cope assembled his army at Stirling, which was composed of the infantry regiments of Lee, Lascelles, and Murray; five companies of a Highland regiment, and two companies of Guise's regiment, and Gardner's and Hamilton's regiments of dragoons: he had six field-pieces, and two mortars.* With

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sion and insurrection, with an anxiety to prepare and guard against them; but every precaution which he suggested the Regency declined taking. When certain intelligence of the landing had been received, he instantly ordered all the disposable troops to assemble with the utmost expedition; and it being the opinion of the Lord President, the Lord Advocate, and Solicitor-general, whom he consulted, that the Pretender's son would not venture on the attempt without encouragement to expect a considerable rising in his favour; and "that the most effectual way of putting a stop to wavering people joining with the disaffected, so as to make a formidable body, was immediately to march and stop their progress," he made dispositions for instantly marching into the Highlands. He arrived at Stirling on the 19th of August, and next day began his march to the North. The circumstances which first delayed his departure, and afterwards obliged him to shorten his marches, so as to prevent his arrival at Dalwhinny before the 26th of August, by which time the rebels were in possession of the mountain of Corryarrak, are detailed in the Report of the Enquiry into his Conduct. He was obliged to carry with him twenty-one days' bread, as there was none to be had in the country the army was to march through; and though all the biscuit the bakers of Edinburgh and Leith had on hand was bought up, and all the bakers there, as well as in Perth and Stirling, were set to work night and day to provide bread, the necessary quantity could not be procured before the 20th, and part of it was only received at Amobrie, or Amilrie, on the 22d of August. Money for the subsistence of the troops was also necessary; but, though he wrote for it on the 3d of August, he did not receive a letter of credit till the 17th. The troops were stopped in their march every day for want of horses for the bread and baggage; as, from there being few enclosures on the way, the horses were obliged to be grazed in the open country, and the drivers carried them off in the night time. All these circumstances, however astonishing they may seem in the present day, were established by a number of respectable witnesses on the trial.

* Sir John Cope, as we have already stated, left Stirling on the 20th. He took no cavalry with him. He began his march with twenty-five companies of foot, in all about 1400 men, four field-pieces, (one-and-a-half pounders,) and four cohorns.

this army he set out for Stirling, in obedience to the orders received by him from the Regency, in order to make head against the Prince. But, as there are several roads to the north of Scotland, he chose that which goes along the eastern coast; whilst the Prince, having certain information of the route taken by General Cope, made choice of the road across the mountains, by Blair of Athol, by which he reached the low country; adroitly contriving to leave the English army behind him. * Thus Ge-

* Sir John Cope set out, along the Highland road, to Fort Augustus. On the 21st he halted at Crief; on the 22d he reached Amobrie, or Amilrie; the 23d Taybridge; the 24th Trinifuir; the 25th Dalnacardoch; and on the 26th Dalwhinnie. At Dalnacardoch he received information that the rebels intended to wait for him at a pass on Corryarrak, an immense mountain directly in the way to Fort Augustus, full of difficult places; and at Dalwhinnie he received an express from Lord President Forbes, confirming the account, and warning him of the danger of an engagement in such a situation. Captain Sweetnam, who had been taken prisoner by the rebels on the 14th of August, and left them on the 21st, informed Sir John that their numbers then amounted to 1400; that, on his way, he met several parties proceeding to join them; and that he was informed, on the 25th, that they were then 3000 strong: though, as it turned out, this last piece of information was erroneous, the Lord President having ascertained, by three different reckonings, made while they were on their march to Snugborough, that they only amounted to between 1800 and 1900. As Sir John's army did not exceed 1400 effective men; and the enemy, by breaking down a bridge over a deep hollow, and posting bodies of men in different places, could keep up a destructive fire on him, if he attempted to pass, he called a council of war, of the colonels, field-officers, and commanders of corps, on the morning of the 27th, who were unanimously of opinion that the road to Fort Augustus, by the Corryarrak, was "impracticable, without exposing the troops to be cut to pieces:" that to return to Stirling would encourage the disaffected in the north, who had not yet taken up arms, and would be dangerous on account of its distance, should the disaffected behind them have broken down the bridges, or the enemy get before them, by short cuts across the country, and destroy them in the narrow defiles; and that it would be more expedient to march to Inverness. Accordingly Sir John faced about, at a place called Blarigg Beg, where the road to Inverness leaves the military road; — and the enemy, who immediately learned from a deserter that he had turned his back on them, having

neral Cope constantly directing his march to the north, and the Prince to the south; by two different roads, it was impossible they could ever meet.

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deliberated whether they should pursue him, or get between him and Inverness by cutting across the country, or proceed southwards, chose the latter alternative, with the view of obtaining possession of Edinburgh before his return from the north.

It may be said, as Sir John was, or ought to have been, acquainted with the nature of the road, and therefore knew the impossibility of forcing the passes of Corryarrak if in the possession of the enemy, with so small an army; why did he thus expose himself to the alternative of being either cut to pieces, or of turning his back on the enemy? — But he had express orders from the Secretary of State to march with the utmost expedition to the north; a measure which had been suggested by the authorities of Scotland, and which, if executed in time, that is before the enemy could have collected any considerable force and marched on Corryarrak, might have crushed the rebellion in its commencement. The delays in obtaining provisions, and the want of that assistance from the country which he had been led to expect, completely frustrated the object of the march. It is very much, however, to be questioned whether, as the English army was then constituted, any other general could have advanced with greater dispatch than General Cope did. When the Duke of Cumberland afterwards proceeded to the north, he marched by the coast road, which is no where far from the sea; and a number of transports, laden with provisions and ammunition, &c. attended his army in their route.

Mr. Home seems to think that the Board of General Officers, who examined into the conduct of Sir John Cope, was too easily satisfied: — "The Jacobites," he says, "some of whom are still alive, give a very different account of the matter, which agrees much better with what really happened. The Pretender's friends at Edinburgh, informed of the difficulties under which Charles laboured for want of money, were very apprehensive that he would not be able to keep the Highlanders together, if Sir John Cope remained at Stirling with his army, and confined the rebels to the north; but they were persuaded that if he marched his army into the Highlands, Charles, with his Highlanders, might find an opportunity of fighting him with advantage; or might give him the slip, and fall down into the Low Country. . . . . Sir John Cope, they knew, had no opinions of his own, and was very ready to borrow those of other people: so they contrived that he should be told, by some of the talking people who had access to him, that nothing was so favourable to the Pretender as the inactivity of the commander-in-chief,

On the 5th of September, the Prince arrived at Perth, where the Highlands begin to extend to the west and north-west, a town

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who kept his troops at Stirling, and allowed the Highlanders to assemble without molestation; whereas, if he should march his army into the Highlands, the rebels would be obliged to disperse, for they were not in a condition to give him battle. This sort of language, held often in Sir John Cope's presence, made such an impression upon him that he sent an express to London, with the proposal of marching into the Highlands, which the Lords Justices highly approved, and ordered him to march, in terms more positive than the General desired."

But, with deference to so high an authority, this account is by no means borne out by facts. Sir John formed the resolution of marching northwards, on the advice of Lord President Forbes; whose eminent services in the rebellion have always been allowed, and who was generally supposed to be better acquainted with the Highlands than any of the men who then filled offices of authority in Scotland. The same advice was given by the Lord Advocate, Solicitor General, and other servants of the Crown at Edinburgh, whom it was his duty to consult. The Lord President expressly says, in his examination before the Board, that "whatever advice was given to Sir John by his lordship and the rest of the King's servants, as far as came to his lordship's knowledge, was observed by Sir John with great diligence. That on the 11th of August, he wrote a letter, from the Blair of Athol, to Sir John Cope, acquainting him that the Duke of Athol had made a disposition for raising all his tenants that he could depend upon; and expressing his hopes that other well-affected lords would do the like; and, therefore, putting Sir John in mind of carrying arms with him to put into their hands. Further he did give it as his opinion, that Sir John Cope would be joined by a greater number of clans than what have since been found to have actually joined him; and he doubts not, but that was the reason that induced Sir John Cope to march northwards; which the Lord Prsident says *he also advised.*" — Surely it will not be pretended that President Forbes was a *mere talker;* or that the opinion of a man who took the lead in all affairs relating to Scotland, for the greater part of half a century, and who had even displayed considerable military knowledge in 1715, ought not to have had the greatest weight with Sir John. This sort of language would naturally enough be welcome in the jacobite parties in Edinburgh, and might gratify the million, who are always but too apt to judge of measures by their results. But a historian, in the discharge of his solemn duty, ought to weigh the evidence carefully before he pronounces so severe a sentence. It may or may not have been wise to march into the north; but the mea-

about nine leagues* from Edinburgh. There he immediately proclaimed his father, James the Third, king of Great Britain; and published a manifesto, and, at the same time, the commission appointing him Regent of the kingdom: both of them dated from Rome. On his arrival at Perth he had not above a thousand followers †; but the day after he was joined by the Duke of Perth, with a part of his vassals; Lord George Murray, with a part of the vassals of his brother the Duke of Athol; and likewise by Lord Nairn, and several other persons of distinction; who attached themselves to his fortunes. On the 7th he sent a

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sure was recommended by those who were generally accounted wise men, and it is difficult to see how Sir John could refuse adopting it.

This much is due to the memory of a general, who, though the theme of many a sarcastic song, seems to have been a meritorious officer, and one of the least imbecile of the military men to whom the safety of the country was then entrusted. President Forbes always considered him as one of the best of the English officers.

* Perth is forty English miles from Edinburgh; which, in ordinary French leagues of 25 to the degree, would amount to between 14 and 15. But at the period of the Rebellion a great degree of confusion existed in Scotland on the subject of miles; by which sometimes the English mile, but more generally the Scotch mile of 40 to the degree, was understood. The author, in estimating his distances in leagues, has generally, in converting the miles, supposed them to have been English, when they were Scotch.

A detachment of Charles's army entered Perth on the 3d; and he himself, with the rest of his troops, entered it on the 4th.

† This account of the Pretender's force at Perth is much too low. When he erected his standard on the 19th, at Glenfinnin, he had about 1000 men. On the 21st he is said to have had 1400. The Lord President sent three different persons among the rebels, (unacquainted with their respective commissions,) who counted them on their march to Snugborough, and on their return gave separate accounts, agreeing in the main, the lowest being 1822, and the highest 1880. The Lord Justice Clerk, in his letter to Lord Tweedale, of the 16th of September, says they were counted at Blair in Athol, on the 1st of September, "and were not then 2000 men."

detachment to Dundee, a town situated about four leagues from Perth *, to proclaim his father as king.

As soon as the news of the Prince's landing was confirmed at Edinburgh, I immediately repaired to the house of Lord Rollo, a Scots peer, the father-in-law of my sister, to wait the arrival of the Prince at Perth, which is about a league from his mansion; and on the 6th of September I left it to join the Prince, accompanied by the two Misses Rollo, who presented me to their relations, the Duke of Perth †, and Lord George Murray. On my arrival at Perth, I was greatly surprised to find so few followers with the Prince, as public report at Edinburgh had increased them to a prodigious number. The Prince having appointed Lord George and the Duke of Perth his lieutenant-generals, Lord George proposed that I should be his aide-de-camp, which proposal I accepted, and began immediately to enter on the exercise of the duties attached to the situation. And as the Prince had then only one aide-de-camp, Mr. Maclaughlan, he employed me as much as Lord George himself did; so that, night and day, my occupations were incessant, and I could scarcely find time to sleep two hours in the four-and-twenty.

The conduct of Sir John Cope was the more inconceivable, as he was looked upon in England as an experienced general; and he had distinguished himself very much in Flanders. There is an arm of the sea at Leith, the port of Edinburgh, from two to three leagues in breadth, which becomes gradually narrower till we reach the town of Alloa, five leagues ‡ west of Edinburgh, where it terminates in the mouth of the river Forth. The ma-

* Dundee is twenty-two miles from Perth.

† James Drummond, commonly called Duke of Perth.

‡ Alloa is twenty-seven miles from Edinburgh.

gistrates of Edinburgh had taken the precaution to withdraw all the ships and boats of every description to Leith, thereby depriving the Prince of all means of crossing this arm of the sea; so that General Cope, in order to prevent him from penetrating to the south, had only to throw up entrenchments at the fords, near the town of Stirling, where all the great roads from the Highlands meet, which would have enabled him to oppose successfully the passage of the river. * Stirling is situated at the

* This is not the opinion of the author alone. — Mr. Home, in a passage already cited, states, that "The Pretender's friends at Edinburgh, informed of the difficulties under which Charles laboured for want of money, were very apprehensive that he would not be able to keep the Highlanders together, if Sir John Cope remained at Stirling with his army, and confined the rebels to the North." — In a letter from Lord Milton, the Lord Justice Clerk, to the Secretary of State, of the 16th of September, in the Appendix to Mr. Home's History, it is also said, "What would have been more easy than for Sir John Cope to have remained at Stirling, till he had got a greater number of Highlanders than the rebel army, from the Campbells alone, who lay nearest to him? And then he had Highlanders against Highlanders, and his regular troops into the bargain; and might safely have marched where he pleased." — It is to be borne in mind, however, that this opinion of Lord Milton is pronounced after Edinburgh was in the possession of the Pretender; and there is no evidence, in the earlier part of the correspondence between his Lordship and the Secretary of State, that he disapproved of the plan of marching northwards with such troops as could be spared, till the result of the enterprise was known, though the plan was communicated to him by Lord Tweedale. How far the apprehensions of the Jacobites as to the impossibility of keeping the Highlanders together for want of money, if Sir John Cope remained at Stirling, were well or ill-founded, is a question which it is difficult now to determine. There is reason, however, for suspecting that these apprehensions were not founded in any correct knowledge of the nature of Highland troops in those days. The great difficulty was to keep them together, not without money, but with money. Montrose, with a handful of raw, ill-armed Highlanders, destitute of every thing, advanced against a superior force of 6000 men, under Lord Elcho, at Perth, which he soon defeated; but after his successes, his soldiers, esteeming the smallest acquisition inexhaustible riches, deserted in great numbers to secure their treasures. The same thing happened uniformly in the course of the rebellion of 1745. When-

distance of seven leagues from Edinburgh, one league and a half from Alloa, and half a league from the chain of mountains that stretch to the north and north-west of Scotland. * There is a stone bridge across the river, but it is commanded by the guns of the castle; and General Cope might have shut up the Prince in the mountains, by merely remaining with his army at Stirling. The position was central, and very advantageous for covering Edinburgh, an object of which he never ought to have lost sight; because it was obvious the great object of the Prince would be, to endeavour to become master of the capital of Scotland, in order to induce his friends to declare themselves openly in his favour, by inspiring them with confidence. It is an incontrovertible axiom, and one which ought to serve as a rule of con-

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ever the soldiers obtained any thing, they always went home to their own country with it.

But the idea of throwing up entrenchments on the Forth to prevent the Highlanders from penetrating into the Low Country, seems altogether visionary. Between the Friths of Forth and Clyde there is a large space which cannot possibly be defended without a very considerable force. The river Forth is even fordable in many places, and such nimble troops as the Highlanders could have had little difficulty in giving the king's small army the slip, and crossing at one or other of the fords, in spite of their utmost vigilance. It is a maxim now agreed on by all military writers, that the passage of rivers cannot possibly be prevented, if the general who attempts it has the least skill or enterprise. The most approved rule for the conduct of a general who has to defend a river, is that given by Frederick of Prussia, of stationing himself, with his whole army, within a day's march of the river, and at an equal distance from the points which he supposes will be forced; that he may be able, on the first intelligence, to attack the party that shall have passed the river, with a superior force. But was the superiority of strength such, in General Cope's case, as to insure him a certainty of success had he made such an attack?

* Stirling is about thirty miles from Edinburgh.

duct, in military operations, that whatever is to our advantage, is against the enemy; and whatever is to the advantage of the enemy is against us: and that our enemy pursues what is for his advantage with as much eagerness as that with which we pursue what is for ours. Hence we may often form a just conclusion as to the designs of the enemy, by supposing ourselves in his position, and by carefully examining what we should do in a similar situation, provided the enemy acts according to the principles of the art of war; for if the general opposed to us is ignorant of his profession, even a Marshal Turenne would be as much puzzled to divine his intentions as the most inexperienced soldier.

By shutting up the Prince in the mountains, General Cope would have prevented him from performing any of those brilliant achievements which were so essential, in the beginning of his enterprise, to insure its success; and the Prince would never have attempted to pass the river by force, had entrenchments, lined with field-artillery, been thrown up at all the fords. * To pass the river secretly, by ascending towards its source, was hardly possible, as he would then have been obliged to go through the country of the Campbells, a clan of Highlanders extremely numerous, of whom the Duke of Argyle was the chief,

* So far from General Cope having it in his power to fortify so many entrenchments, he says, in his letter to Lord Tweedale, of the 3d of August, — "If I come to want to make use of a field-train, or any artillery at all, we have not any gunners for that purpose." He was obliged to leave Edinburgh with the show only of some artillery; and even at the battle of Preston Pans the few cannon-shot that were discharged were fired by Lieutenant-colonel Whiteford alone. When Sir John marched northwards, there was only one old gunner in the castle of Edinburgh, and three Scots soldiers of the invalids, who served as matrosses, and who, with six gunners borrowed from the men-of-war, were employed in the battle of Preston Pans; but they ran away with the powder-flasks in the beginning of the action.

the implacable enemies of the house of Stuart. * General Cope had also two regiments under him; and by means of dragoons, posts, and patrols, it was easy for him to obtain early information of every thing that occurred within three or four leagues of his camp at Stirling. And, supposing even that the Prince had effected his passage, General Cope could still have advanced and given him battle, with every possible advantage, and without losing his position between him and Edinburgh. If the Prince's army had advanced by the roads leading to the fords, as it certainly would, all that General Cope had to do was, when the Prince was so near that he could not possibly escape, to pass Stirling bridge with his army, and fall suddenly on the Highlanders, whilst they were employed in examining the fords. The result of the combat could not have been doubtful; General Cope having from three to four thousand regular troops, against twelve or fifteen hundred undisciplined mountaineers. † But

* At the breaking out of the Rebellion the Campbells (who being a Whig Clan obeyed the disarming act) were without arms. — The Marquis of Tweedale, in a letter of the 1st of August, informs General Cope, that 5000 stand of arms were to be sent down to Scotland; and that, should the Duke of Argyle desire it, some of them might be delivered to him. On the 6th, Sir John wrote to the Duke of Argyle to that effect. The Duke acquainted Sir John, when he came to Edinburgh, that till the Government made it lawful for him, he durst not even defend himself. It was hardly possible, therefore, that the Duke of Argyle could receive arms in sufficient quantity, and in sufficient time, to enable him to stop the advance of the Pretender.

† The correspondence between Sir John Cope and the Secretary of State, previous to his advance to the North, sufficiently proves how small the number of men at his disposal actually was. The whole of the king's army in Scotland consisted of three battalions and a half of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry; both the horse and foot being the youngest regiments of the army, with the exception of Guise's regiment, which was dispersed in the forts and barracks in the North. Besides these there were nine additional companies, lately raised for the Scots regiments serving abroad; and several companies, almost complete, of Lord Loudon's Highland regiment, for which the levies were going on all over the North. Two

thirty or forty leagues of country were now interposed between the two armies, and General Cope, either from ignorance in the art of war, notwithstanding the reputation he had acquired, which we frequently find to be ill-founded, or from policy, or from bad intentions towards the government, instead of crushing the Prince in his outset, permitted an enterprise, the rapid and astonishing progress of which surprised, and fixed the attention of, all the Powers of Europe, to gain strength and vigour; whilst he himself became the victim of his ignorance or his policy, as usually happens in similar cases. Thus the Prince, with a small and contemptible number of Highlanders, shook the throne of Great Britain; and was on the point of being crowned at London. He kept his ground against the whole force of England, strengthened by the addition of the Hessian and Dutch troops; and gained several battles against disciplined armies much superior in number to his own *: a circumstance unparalleled in history, and which posterity will scarcely believe.

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of the nine additional companies had fallen into the hands of the rebels, on the 16th of August, on their way from Fort Augustus to Fort William; and most of the other companies, from previous draughting, did not contain more than twenty-five men each. Lord Loudon's men were scattered about in the North, and had not received their arms. After the utmost exertions of General Cope in collecting together an army, he could not procure more than 1400 infantry by the 20th; and the battle of Preston Pans was fought with 2100 men of all arms. So very far was General Cope's forces from being either so numerous or so formidable as the author would lead us to believe.

* The numbers were in *no engagement much* superior to his own, and sometimes a little inferior. The author afterwards, in his account of the Highland mode of fighting, explains the cause of their success; and small armies so composed will almost always defeat an equal or even a greater number of regular troops, armed and disciplined in the modern manner. The case is by no means unparalleled, either in the history of this country or in that of others. The Highlanders had, several

The Prince set out from Perth on the 11th of September, and on the 13th crossed the Forth, at the ford of the Frew, about four miles from Stirling. On the evening of the 14th our army reached the neighbourhood of Corstorphin, a village about half a league from Edinburgh, and passed the night in a field at Gray's mill, where the Prince lodged in the *miller's* cottage.*. While there, deputies arrived from the city, to treat about a capitulation; to whom the Prince replied, that he would not treat with his subjects. However, matters were soon arranged, and next morning the Prince was conducted to Holyrood House, the palace of his ancestors, at the end of the suburbs, amidst the acclamations of an immense crowd, whom curiosity had brought to meet him a quarter of a league from the city. It was a new sight, Scotland having been deprived of the presence of its kings since the Revolution; and indeed they had seldom visited it since the union of the two crowns under James the First, son of the unfortunate Mary Stuart. The next day king James was proclaimed at Edinburgh, and the Prince named Regent to govern the kingdom, in the absence of his father, at Rome.

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times before, by their victories over regular troops, been on the point of overturning the government. The warlike tribes on the frontiers of Austria and Russia have frequently defeated superior bodies of regulars; and a British force was defeated at Alexandria, by Albanians, a people in habits and discipline very much akin to the Highlanders of 1745, not many years ago.

* Corstorphin is about three miles from Edinburgh. The Prince lodged in the house of Mr. David Wright, tacksman, of Gray's Mill. The author is mistaken as to the date. The Highland army were quartered in Falkirk on the night of the 14th; and the Prince himself passed the night at Callender, the seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock. On the night between the 15th and 16th, the Highlanders took post on a rising ground, near the twelfth mile-stone from Edinburgh. The night of the 16th was passed at Gray's Mill; and about five o'clock on the morning of the 17th, the rebels entered Edinburgh.

General Cope arrived, on the 11th of September, at Aberdeen, a city thirty leagues north from Edinburgh: and having embarked his army, in order to return to the south by sea, he ordered transports for that purpose, and sailing with a fair wind, landed at Dunbar, a town six leagues east from Edinburgh, on the 17th, where he was immediately joined by two other regiments of dragoons, newly arrived from England, with Brigadier General Fowke, who commanded them; as also by the dragoon regiments of Hamilton and Gardener, whom he had left behind him at Stirling, on setting out for the North. *

Lord George Murray, who had the charge of all the details of our army, and who had the sole direction of it, possessed a natural genius for military operations; and was indeed a man of surprising talents, which, had they been cultivated by the study of military tactics, would unquestionably have rendered him one of the greatest generals of the age. He was tall and robust, and brave in the highest degree; conducting the Highlanders in the most heroic manner, and always the first to rush sword in hand into the midst of the enemy. He used to say, when we advanced to the charge, "I do not ask you, my lads, to go before, but merely to follow me:" a very energetic harangue, admirably calculated to excite the ardour of the Highlanders; but which would sometimes have had a better effect in the mouth of the Prince. † He slept little, was continually occupied with all

* Dunbar is twenty-seven miles east from Edinburgh. General Fowke arrived at Edinburgh on the 15th, but he brought no dragoon regiments with him. He joined General Cope at Dunbar, on the 17th, with Gardener's and Hamilton's dragoons; the only cavalry regiments in the battle of Preston Pans.

† The author here, and not unfrequently in other parts of these Memoirs, insinuates that Charles was deficient in courage. He has been so often in every publication, down to the historical romance of Waverley, represented as a heroic and

manner of details, and was altogether most indefatigable, combining and directing alone all our operations: in a word, he was the only person capable of conducting our army. His colleague, the Duke of Perth, though brave even to excess, every way honourable, and possessed of a mild and gentle disposition, was of very limited abilities, and interfered with nothing. Lord George was vigilant, active, and diligent; his plans were always judiciously formed, and he carried them promptly and vigorously into execution. However, with an infinity of good qualities, he was not without his defects: proud, haughty, blunt, and imperious, he wished to have the exclusive ordering of every thing; and, feeling his superiority, he would listen to no advice. There were few persons, it is true, in our army sufficiently versed in military affairs, to be capable of advising him as to the conducting of his operations. The Highland chiefs, like their vassals, possessed the most heroic courage; but they knew no other manœuvre than that of rushing upon the enemy sword in hand, as soon as they saw them, without order and without discipline. Lord George could receive still less assistance from the subaltern Irish officers, who, with the exception of Mr. Sullivan, possessed no other knowledge than that which usually forms the whole stock of subalterns; namely, the knowing how to mount and quit guard. We can hardly, therefore, be aston-

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daring leader, that many may be inclined to disbelieve the truth of this charge of want of bravery. It is well known too, that he was seen in England more than once after the extinction of the rebellion in 1745: and it is difficult to reconcile such perilous visits with positive cowardice. To have exposed himself in action would, in general, perhaps, have been imprudent, though there might have been occasions where such exposure was absolutely necessary.

ished that Lord George, possessing so many qualities requisite to form a great general, should have gained the hearts of the Highlanders; and a general, who has the confidence of his soldiers, may perform wonders. Hence, possessing the art of employing men to advantage, without having had time to discipline them, but taking them merely as they came from the plough *, he made them perform prodigies of valour against various English armies, always greatly superior in number to that of the Prince, though the English troops are allowed to be the best in Europe. Nature had formed him for a great warrior; he did not require the accidental advantage of birth.

The Prince ordered a body of Highlanders to enter the city of Edinburgh, who immediately formed the blockade of the castle, where there was a garrison of five or six hundred men, to prevent their sallies, and deprive them of the means of disturbing us in the city. He ordered, at the same time, the rest of his army to remain encamped at Duddingston, a village about a quarter of a league from his palace of Holyrood House.

On the 19th of September, General Cope encamped his army at Haddington, about four leagues to the east of Edinburgh; and on the 20th he approached to within a league and a half of

* We must not understand this literally. The chief employment of the inhabitants of the Highlands was to take care of their herds of black cattle, and to wander after them among the mountains. The Highlanders were, it is true, not trained as regular soldiers, but they were not without a discipline of their own, admirably suited to their mode of fighting. Their chiefs had generally around them a number of retainers practised in the use of arms; and a meeting of two or three gentlemen always brought together a little army. The miracle effected by Lord George is not so very surprising, when it comes to be closely examined. The Highlanders had the habits of soldiers, and not those of boors.

our camp.* As it was absolutely indispensable, in our situation, to give battle as soon as possible, because a great number of the Prince's friends only waited the event to declare themselves in his favour, he assembled his army on the morning of the 20th of September, and immediately set out to meet the enemy. His army was composed of about eighteen hundred men, badly armed, a part of them having only bludgeons in their hands. They had found very few arms at Edinburgh, as the inhabitants, before the capitulation, had deposited them in the castle, which is very strong, being situated on the summit of a steep rock, impregnable from its elevation, except through famine or bombardment. The army of General Cope was composed of four thousand regular troops, besides several volunteers, whom a fanatic zeal had induced to join his standard, but who had not sufficient courage to do us any injury. †

* The distances here assigned are too short. It is hardly necessary to repeat that the author must have given to Scotch miles the length of English miles, in converting them into leagues.

† We have already stated the number of troops, under Sir John Cope, in this action. They amounted to 2100 men, besides some new-raised companies of Lord Loudon's regiment, and the 42d, which were sent to Cockenzie, as the baggage-guard. When the rebels entered Edinburgh, they were somewhat under 2000 men. Next day they were joined by 150 M'Lachlanes; and, before they left Duddingston, they were joined by 250 men, so that at Preston they amounted in all to nearly 2400 men. In point of numbers, therefore, they were rather superior to Cope's army; but many of them, it is true, were either unarmed or very ill armed. M. Patullo, who was muster-master of the rebel army, in answer to some queries transmitted to him at Paris, from Mr. Home, states its number, at Preston, to have been nearly 2500. The exaggerations on this subject have been carried to a great length on both sides.

A volunteer from Edinburgh, who, from the circumstantial manner in which the account is given by Mr. Home, was, in all probability, no other than himself, was introduced to Sir John Cope on the 18th, and told him that he had remained in

We arrived, about two o'clock in the afternoon, within musket-shot of the enemy, where we halted behind an eminence, having

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Edinburgh after the rebels took possession of the town; that he had gone to the different posts, which they occupied in the town, and reckoned them pretty exactly; that he had gone up to the hollow between the hills, where their main body lay, where he also counted them; that he was persuaded the whole number of Highlanders, within and without the town, did not amount to 2000 men: that he was, however, informed several bodies of men, from the North, were on their way, and expected to join them soon; that they had no cannon, nor artillery of any sort, but one small iron gun, without a carriage, drawn on a cart, by a little Highland horse; that about 1400 or 1500 were armed with broad-swords and firelocks of all sorts and sizes, muskets, fusils, and fowling-pieces; that some of the rest had firelocks without swords, and some swords without firelocks, and about 100 were armed with the blade of a scythe, fastened to the end of a pitchfork-shaft; but that all of them would soon be provided with firelocks, as the arms of the trained-bands of Edinburgh had fallen into their hands. Sir John was thus pretty accurately informed as to the numbers of the enemy. On his trial, however, he says positively, that "the rebels were about 5500 in the field!!!" and on another occasion, he says that they were "drawn up in two lines, consisting, as I was informed, *by some of the chiefs of them!!* of 5500 men." A Mr. Bruce said, he had heard "one Mr. Baillie, steward to Mr. Dundas, the late Solicitor General," who had been sent in among the rebels by Mr. Dundas, to get intelligence, report in presence of Sir John Cope, Colonel Gardener, and other officers, that he computed their number to be about 5000. Lieutenant-colonel Whiteford, taken prisoner in the battle, said he was told by the Duke of Perth and Lords George Murray, Elcho, and Nairn, that the number was 5500. Majors Severn, and Talbot, and Captain Leslie said, they had also been told by the Duke of Perth, that from the returns, the night before the battle, the number was 5500. Lieutenant Craig said, he went to reconnoitre them, the day before the battle, and saw them in the afternoon going up Fawside-hill, and to the best of his judgment they seemed to be more than 5000. A Mr. Jack, a Professor of Mathematics, present in the battle, and who stated, on the trial, that the whole of the rebels in the field of battle, *upon the attack*, he was sure were not above 1600 or 1800 men at the most, as he judged by the ground they took up, was reviled as a calumniator by all the officers, though his estimate was wonderfully near the truth, as the reserve of the rebels, amounting to 620, was never engaged.

It is difficult to believe that all the officers who were taken prisoners should, to

a full view of the camp of General Cope, the position of which was chosen with a great deal of skill. The more we examined it, the more we were convinced of the impossibility of attacking it; and we were all thrown into consternation, and quite at a loss what course to take. On even ground, the courage and bravery of the Highlanders might supply the place of numbers; but what could eighteen hundred men do against four thousand, in a position inaccessible on every point? The camp of the enemy was fortified by nature, and in the happiest position for so small an army. The general had on his right two inclosures, surrounded by stone-walls, from six to seven feet high, between which there was a road of about twenty feet broad, leading to the village of Preston Pans. Before him was another inclosure, surrounded by a deep ditch filled with water, and from ten to twelve feet broad, which served as a drain to the marshy ground. On his left was a marsh, which terminated in a deep pond; and behind him was the sea: so that he was thus inclosed as in a fortification, which

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palliate the disgrace of their defeat, have conspired to invent the circumstance of being told by the Duke of Perth, and Lords George Murray, Elcho, and Nairn, that the rebels amounted to 5500. And it is probable that the rebel leaders chose to take claim to less merit than they were entitled to, and to give a false account of their numbers, for the purpose of rendering themselves more formidable in the public estimation. It was not their interest that their numbers should be accurately known. We may, therefore, exonerate the officers from the charge of wilful falsehood; but it will be difficult to exonerate them from the charge of great blindness and imbecility.

What is rather surprising, the author of Waverley, who is so well acquainted with every thing connected with Scotland, makes the rebels, the day previous to the battle, amount to about 4000! He talks of "the daring attempt of a body not then exceeding four thousand men, and of whom not above half the number, at the utmost, were armed."

could be attacked in no other manner than by a regular siege. We spent the afternoon in reconnoitering his position; and the more we examined it, the more our uneasiness and chagrin increased, as we saw no possibility of attacking it, without exposing ourselves to be cut to pieces in a disgraceful manner. At sunset our army traversed the village of Tranent, which was on our right, and took a new position opposite to the marsh. General Cope, at the same time, ordered his army to take a new front, supporting his right by the ditch of the inclosure, and his left by the sea, and having his front towards the lake.

Mr. Anderson, proprietor of the marsh, came to the Prince in the evening, very *àpropos*, to relieve us from our embarrassment. * He assured him that there was a place in the marsh where we could pass it with safety, and that he himself had frequently crossed it when hunting. The Prince, having instantly caused the place to be examined, ascertained that this account was correct; and that General Cope, not deeming it passable, had neglected to station a guard there. He caused the army to pass through the place in question during the night; the Highlanders moving along in files, without meeting with any opposition from the enemy, forming themselves as soon as they came out of the marsh, and extending their line towards the sea.

At break of day, General Cope took our first line, which was formed in order of battle, at the distance of two hundred

* Mr. Home says, "There was in the rebel army a person who had joined them at Edinburgh; his name was Robert Anderson, (the son of Anderson, of Whitbrough, in East Lothian,) who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1715. He knew the country exceeding well, &c." He does not say, that he was the proprietor of the ground; and he tells us that he first informed Lord George Murray of the way through the marsh.

paces from his army, for bushes. It consisted of twelve hundred men; and our second line, of six hundred men, was composed of those who were badly armed; many of them, as we have already observed, having only staves or bludgeons in their hands. Captain Macgregor, of the Duke of Perth's regiment, for want of other arms, procured scythes, which he sharpened and fixed to poles of from seven to eight feet long. With these he armed his company, and they proved very destructive weapons.

When our first line had passed the marsh, Lord George dispatched me to the second line, which the Prince conducted in person, to see that it passed without noise or confusion. Having examined the line, and found that every thing was as it should be, on my return to Lord George, I found the Prince at the head of the column, accompanied by Lord Nairn, just as he was beginning to enter the marsh, and I passed it a second time along with him. We were not yet out of the marsh, when the enemy, seeing our first line in order of battle, fired an alarm-gun. At the very end of the marsh there was a deep ditch, three or four feet broad, which it was necessary to spring over, and the Prince, in leaping across, fell upon his knees on the other side. I laid hold of his arm, and immediately raised him up. On examining his countenance, it appeared to me that he considered this accident as a bad omen.

Lord George, at the head of the first line, did not give the English time to recover from their surprise. He advanced with such rapidity that General Cope had hardly time to form his troops in order of battle, when the Highlanders rushed upon them sword in hand. They had been frequently enjoined to aim at the noses of the horses with their swords, without minding the riders; as the natural movement of a horse, wounded in the

face, is to wheel round: and a few horses wounded in that manner, are sufficient to throw a whole squadron into disorder, without the possibility of their being afterwards rallied. They followed this advice most implicitly, and the English cavalry was instantly thrown into confusion.

Macgregor's company did great execution with their scythes. They cut the legs of the horses in two; their riders through the middle of their bodies. Macgregor was brave and intrepid, but, at the same time, altogether whimsical and singular. When advancing to the charge with his company, he received five wounds, two of them from balls that pierced his body through and through. Stretched on the ground, with his head resting on his hand, he called out to the Highlanders of his company, "My lads, I am not dead!—by G—, I shall see if any of you does not do his duty!" The Highlanders instantly fell on the flanks of the infantry; which being uncovered and exposed from the flight of the cavalry, immediately gave way. Thus, in less than five minutes, we obtained a complete victory; with a terrible carnage on the part of the enemy. It was gained with such rapidity *, that in the second line, where I still was by the side of the Prince, not having been able to find Lord George, we saw no other enemy on the field of battle than those who were lying on the ground killed and wounded, though we were not more than fifty paces behind our first line, running always as fast as we could to overtake them, and near enough never to lose sight of

* Lieutenant-colonel Whiteford, in his evidence, says, the rebels advanced on him *with a swiftness not to be conceived:* and Sir John Cope says, that the motion of the rebels was *so very rapid*, that the whole line was broken in a very few minutes. Not one bayonet was stained with blood! Yet the author of Waverley says, the English infantry "stood their ground with great courage!" though Lord Loudon, in his account, confirmed by every eye-witness, says, as soon as the Highlanders approached our foot, "immediately a pannic struck them."

them. The Highlanders made a terrible slaughter of the enemy, particularly at the spot where the road begins to run between the two inclosures, as it was soon stopped up by the fugitives; as also along the walls of the inclosures, where they killed, without trouble, those who attempted to climb them. The strength of their camp became their destruction. Some of them attempted to rally in the inclosure, where there was an eminence which commanded the field of battle, and from which they fired some shot; but they were soon put to flight by the Highlanders, who immediately entered the inclosure in pursuit of them.

The field of battle presented a spectacle of horror, being covered with heads, legs, and arms, and mutilated bodies; for the killed all fell by the sword. The enemy had thirteen hundred killed; and we made fifteen hundred prisoners, and took six field-pieces, two mortars, all the tents, baggage, and the military chest. * General Cope, by means of a white cockade, which he put in his hat, similar to what we wore, passed through the midst of the Highlanders without being known, and escaped to England, where he carried the first news of his defeat. This victory cost us forty killed, and as many wounded. †. The

* Mr. Home says, the number of private men who were killed in the battle did not exceed 200, and the number of officers five; but he states, in a note, that some accounts of the battle, written by officers in the rebel army, make the number of killed to have been 400 or 500. It is certain that all the *infantry* of the King's army were either killed or taken prisoners, except about 170, who escaped "by *extraordinary* swiftness or early flight." And when we consider the difficulty of escape, with what is said of the *vengeance* of the Highlanders, and the terrible havoc which they must have made, in a short time, with their swords, on men so situated, we can have no doubt that Mr. Home's number of 200 is much too low; though 1300, again, seems extravagantly high.

† This number differs little from that of Mr. Home, who makes the killed 30 private men, and four officers; and the wounded, 70 private men.

greatest advantage, which we derived from it was, the reputation which the Prince's army acquired in the outset; which determined many of his partisans who were yet wavering, to declare themselves openly in his favour. The arms of the vanquished, of which we stood in need, were also of great service to us. The Prince slept next night at Pinky-house, about a quarter of a league from the field of battle. He committed to my care one hundred and ten English officers, who were our prisoners, with orders that they should want for nothing.

The panic-terror of the English surpasses all imagination. They threw down their arms that they might run with more speed, thus depriving themselves by their fears of the only means of arresting the vengeance of the Highlanders. Of so many men in a condition, from their numbers, to preserve order in their retreat, not one thought of defending himself. Terror had taken possession of their minds. I saw a young Highlander, about fourteen years of age, scarcely formed, who was presented to the Prince as a prodigy, having killed, it was said, fourteen of the enemy. The Prince asked him if this was true? "I do not know," replied he, "if I killed them; but I brought fourteen soldiers to the ground with my sword." Another Highlander brought ten soldiers to the Prince, whom he had made prisoners, driving them before him like a flock of sheep. This Highlander, from a rashness without example, having pursued a party to some distance from the field of battle, along the road between the two inclosures, struck down the hindermost with a blow of his sword, calling, at the same time, "Down with your arms." The soldiers, terror-struck, threw down their arms without looking behind them, and the Highlander, with a pistol in one hand, and a sword in the other, made them do exactly as he pleased. The

rage and despair of these men, on seeing themselves made prisoners by a single individual, may easily be imagined. These were, however, the same English soldiers who had distinguished themselves at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and who might justly be ranked amongst the bravest troops of Europe.

However, when we come to consider the matter attentively, we can hardly be astonished that Highlanders, who take arms voluntarily from attachment to their legitimate Prince and their chiefs, should defeat thrice their number of regular troops, who enlist from seduction or a love of idleness and dissipation. Such men are strangers to the love of glory, affection for their Prince, the enthusiasm of patriotism, the intense feeling of the justice of their cause, the hope of rich spoil or honourable promotion. An order of the Prince forms and swells his armies, and he orders them also to march wherever he pleases.

Having been several times in armies which have been put to rout since this action, I have always remarked, that much fewer men were lost in the field of battle than in the subsequent flight. Seized by a panic-terror, and frequently borne away by their companions without knowing why, even when they have lost fewer men than the enemy who remains victorious, they disperse like sheep, and, unable to defend themselves, come voluntarily forward like so many victims to be sacrificed. Thus it required no extraordinary courage in this young Highlander to bring down fourteen soldiers; but merely an arm sufficiently strong to give fourteen blows with his sword on the heads of so many fugitives, and legs sufficiently swift to pursue and overtake them. The other Highlander, who took ten prisoners, would have paid dear for his rashness, if they had had sufficient presence of mind to look behind them, when he ordered them to lay down their arms.

We can never impress too much on the minds of soldiers, that their safety and even their very existence depend on their firmness and coolness; and that the only means of inspiring a victorious enemy with respect for them, and of escaping from that carnage which always accompanies a disorderly flight, is to form a junction with their comrades, as soon as the confusion begins to gain ground, and to rally themselves by forming bodies as soon as possible. If we retreat without precipitation, with the face always turned towards the enemy, the advantage gained in a battle would not be so considerable as it commonly is: at least, the carnage which follows would not take place. The victorious army would not venture to break its ranks to pursue the enemy, for fear of losing the victory, which has happened more than once from such a cause. It is even prudent in the victors to advance slowly, leaving a bridge of gold to the flying enemy; and indeed as the light troops and cavalry are commonly employed in the pursuit, the sight of an army retiring in good order, cannot fail to inspire them with awe. He who pursues disorderly an enemy in disorder, says Machiavel, will lose the victory which he has gained, and perhaps give it to the enemy.

The rallying of troops has ever appeared to me one of the most essential requisites in military science. But to attain perfection in this respect, it is necessary to study the disposition of man, to be acquainted with his natural feelings, to know in what men generally resemble, and in what they differ from, one another: a science equally profound and difficult, but essentially necessary to the general of an army, who, before he issues his despotic orders to his men, ought to know what they are capable of performing. To impress on the minds of soldiers the necessity of rallying quickly, as soon as they are broken, and of retiring slowly before

the enemy, with their arms always in readiness to defend themselves, it is only necessary to show them, that on this depends their safety and their lives; and that if they fly in confusion and disorder, without being able to defend themselves, they will infallibly meet with their destruction. As nature has endowed every man with the instinct of self-preservation, when the soldier is once convinced that by joining his comrades and forming battalions he can alone preserve his life, and oppose with advantage an inferior number of enemies employed in the pursuit, he will do so of his own accord: and this course will be found more efficacious than all the orders and threats which their officers can possibly make use of. The soldier who betakes himself to a disorderly flight, does not do so with the idea of losing his life, but with the hope of preserving it, and of being sooner out of danger. He merely deceives himself as to his means, and rushes on death instead of avoiding it. Soldiers are mere machines; and we must direct and guide them to prevent them from being tyrannised over by their imagination. In an attack I have seen the same men advance like lions, who, when repulsed, became in an instant as cowardly and timorous as hares. However, it is not the diminution of their numbers in the fight that can occasion such a sudden change; for they cannot know what is passing throughout the army; but they turn their backs mechanically, without any other reason for doing so, than that they follow the example of those who happen to be near them. The contagion spreads through the army like wild-fire: an unexpected resistance, on the part of the enemy, instantly deranges the order of the whole machine, and destroys, in an instant, the faculty of discernment and reflection, and all becomes one scene of confusion. It is the nature of man, generally speaking, to be inconstant and

variable; he seldom sees objects in their proper colours; consequently he has no stability in his opinions, and is almost always at variance with himself: hence we must elevate the imagination of the soldiers, which solely influences their actions. The general, who can inspire his army with confidence in his capacity, talents, and experience, is the best leader who can be employed: for soldiers, who have this prepossession in favour of their general, will conduct themselves like heroes, in the belief that they are marching to a certain victory. With troops so animated as the Highlanders were in this extraordinary battle, a general ought not to think of the number of his army, however inferior to that of the enemy, but merely of the frame of mind in which his soldiers are.

Next day, being the 22d of September, the Prince returned to Edinburgh, where he was received with the loudest acclamations by the populace, always equally inconstant in every country of the world. He there published several edicts, one of which prohibited all public rejoicings on account of the victory obtained over General Cope, as it was purchased at the expense of the blood of his subjects. In another he granted a general amnesty for all treasons, rebellions, or offences whatever, committed against him or his predecessors, since the revolution of 1688, provided the aggressors repaired to the palace of Holyrood-house within the space of four days, and made a declaration in presence of his secretary, that they would live in future under his government as quiet and peaceable subjects. He also sent circular letters to the magistrates of all the towns in Scotland, commanding them to repair immediately to Edinburgh, to pay their proportion of the contributions which he imposed on every town; and he dispatched other letters to all the collectors and

controllers of the land-tax and customs, ordering them to bring to his palace their books and the public money in their hands, on pain of high treason.

This victory, however unimportant it at first seemed, made the Prince the entire master of Scotland, where the only English troops which remained were the garrisons of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. The whole of the towns of Scotland having been obliged to recognise the Prince as regent of the kingdom in the absence of his father, King James, then at Rome, all that he had to do now was to retain possession of it. His chief object ought to have been to endeavour, by every possible means, to secure himself in the government of his ancient kingdom; and to defend himself against the English armies, which would not fail to be sent against him, without attempting, for the present, to extend his views to England. This was the advice which every one gave the Prince; and, if he had followed it, he might still perhaps have been in possession of that kingdom. He was strongly advised to dissolve and annul the union between Scotland and England, made during the usurpation of Queen Anne, by a cabal of a few Scots peers, whom the English court had gained over to its interests by force of gold, contrary to the general wish of the Scottish nation, by all ranks of which, down to the lowest peasant, this act has ever been held in abhorrence. Such a step would have given infinite pleasure to all Scotland; and the sole consideration of being freed from the English yoke would have induced the Scots to declare themselves generally in his favour.

By thus fomenting the natural hatred and animosity which the Scots have in all times manifested against the English, the war would have become national, and this would have

been a most fortunate circumstance for the Prince. The Scots, though much inferior to the English in numbers, had withstood them during a long and almost uninterrupted war of a thousand years, and preserved their liberty and independence down to the union of the two kingdoms in 1707. Besides, if the Prince could have kept his ground in Scotland, the Court of France would have found it their interest to maintain him on the throne, and would have exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent an union with England. It was further observed, by those who gave this advice to the Prince, that as the union, from its being an act passed during the usurpation, and injurious to the house of Stuart, was necessarily void, it was proper to issue writs for the immediate meeting of the Scottish parliament at Edinburgh, to impose taxes in a legal manner, and obtain supplies for the support of his army.

As this parliament could only at first be composed of the partisans of the Prince, it would not certainly have been considered as a free parliament; but the taxes imposed in this manner on the nation would have appeared less arbitrary, and borne a greater appearance of justice and lawfulness than the military contributions which were then levied.

The Scots who were most distinguished for their talents, experience, and good sense, proposed this wise and salutary plan of operations to the Prince, which, however, he did not seem to relish*;

* The views of the author were certainly espoused by a number of Jacobites, though we can hardly bring ourselves to suppose they were entertained by many of the leading men of that party. Mr. Home has, however, stated one distinguished instance of the union of Jacobitism with this species of patriotism, and with the most liberal principles. "When Charles," he says, "came to the palace, (of Holyrood House,) he dismounted, and walked along the piazza, towards the apartment of the Duke of Hamilton. When he was near the door, which stood open to receive

having inherited the sentiments of his ancestors, who always entertained an extravagant attachment to the English people, and

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him, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, drew his sword, and raising his arm aloft, walked up stairs before Charles. The person who enlisted himself in this manner was James Hepburn of Keith, whose name will be mentioned again more than once: he had been engaged, when a very young man; in the rebellion of the year 1715, and from that time (learned and intelligent as he was,) had continued a Jacobite. But he had compounded the spirit of Jacobitism with another spirit; for he disclaimed the hereditary indefeasible right of kings, and condemned the government of James the Second; but he also condemned the Union between England and Scotland as injurious and humiliating to his country; saying, (to use his own words,) that the Union had made a Scotch gentleman of small fortune nobody, and that he would die a thousand times rather than submit to it. Wrapped up in these notions, he kept himself for thirty years in constant readiness to take arms, and was the first person who joined Charles at Edinburgh: idolised by the Jacobites, and beloved by some of the best Whigs, who regretted that this accomplished gentleman, the model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour, should sacrifice himself to a visionary idea of the independence of Scotland."

The most liberal and enlightened politician of Scotland, perhaps of Europe, at the period of the Union, Fletcher of Saltoun, though a determined opponent of that measure, could not conceal from himself the inability of his country to withstand the force of England, from "the great disproportion," as he says, "there is between the power of the one and the other nation, especially in the present way of making war." The resource to which he looked in case of attack from England, — that of *taking any power* that would assist him *by the hand*, — is at best a very precarious one, and a means on which it would have been extremely hazardous to calculate. Though it may seem idle to enquire into the policy of the Union in the present day; yet it is but doing justice to Fletcher and those who shared his views, to observe, that the principles on which they opposed that measure are not so absurd as might at first be supposed. His reasons for preferring a federal to an incorporating union, not merely in the case of England and Scotland, but in the case of all countries in the same situation, are developed at considerable length in the very interesting account which he has given of a conversation he had with the Earl of Cromarty, Sir Edward Seymour, and Sir Christopher Musgrave, concerning a *right regulation of governments*. Setting out with the opinion, of which few politicians have yet been able to see the truth, — "that the true interest and good of any nation is the same with that of any

who were always the victims of the ill-judged mildness with which they governed them, instead of ruling them with a rod of

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other;" "that no people ever did any injustice to a neighbouring nation, except by mistaking their interest;" and "that wars are hostile to the true interest of every nation, and are, in fact, the greatest calamity to which the human race is exposed, grievously oppressing and afflicting not only the places that are the theatres of action, but even the remotest village and most solitary cottage;" in order to preserve mankind from such *convulsions and misery*, as much as possible, he proposed that "instead of framing governments with regard only to a single society, as all legislators have hitherto done," such should be constituted "as would be no less advantageous to our neighbours than ourselves." Conceiving that the most effectual way to prevent wars, was to render nations incapable or unfit to make conquests, and to increase at the same time their power of resisting invasion, he recommended that those States which are connected together by geographical position and identity of language, should unite themselves in federal governments for their common defence, each of them preserving its separate laws and administration. Britain and Ireland, he said, were conveniently situated for one federal government; Spain and Portugal for another; France within the Alps, Jura, the Vosges, the Ardennes, and the Pyrenees for a third; Italy and its islands for a fourth; the seventeen Provinces, the circles of Westphalia and Lower Saxony, with the Archbishopric of Cologne and Denmark, for a fifth; the rest of Germany and Switzerland, and the Provinces to the Adriatic, for a sixth; Norway, Sweden, Livonia, and the northern parts of European Russia, for a seventh; Poland, Prussia, Lithuania, and the southern parts of European Russia, for an eighth; the countries to the north of Macedonia and Albania, and the south of the Carpathian mountains, for a ninth; and Macedonia, Albania, &c. for a tenth: almost every one of these ten parts speaking a distinct language, and the people being generally of the same temper and dispositions. Federal states, he says, from the difficulty of disposing of conquests, which belong to the whole federation in common, are less inclined to make war, and having a number of centres of men, riches, and power, do not depend on the fate of a single battle, and are conquered with great difficulty. Such federations are not only best calculated to preserve mankind from war, but also from corruption of manners, and give the people of every part of the world, that just share in the government of themselves which is due to them; the governments extending only over a moderate number of people are duly executed; and so many different centres promote the

iron, like their former sovereigns, Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth. The Prince constantly rejected every proposition which he thought calculated to displease them, or even to give rise to the slightest umbrage. The unfortunate house of Stuart have been always abhorred and detested by the English nation

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diffusion of knowledge and improvement. Hence he conceived that the advantage of England, Scotland, and Ireland would be best promoted by retaining the connection of a common sovereign, and leaving to each country its separate internal government.

It is in some measure on these principles that most of the colonies of this empire are connected with it; and they are adopted in their utmost extent in the United States of North America.

The advantages of an incorporating union are, therefore, more problematical than many persons suppose. A federal union may embrace any extent of empire, but an incorporating union is necessarily defective, where the empire is not of a moderate size. Under a federal union the general government is not overwhelmed with details, but has its attention confined to a few important objects; the separate states freeing it from all business of a local nature. From the load of business of all descriptions which the two incorporating unions, and the affairs of those colonies which have no separate legislature, have thrown into the Parliament of England, it can give to few objects the consideration to which they are entitled; and to the affairs of the more distant parts of the empire the least attention can with difficulty be procured. When Irish business comes on in the House of Commons, it is a signal for the members to go out; and the affair of Warren Hastings, made it evident that an Indian enquiry was impracticable. Upon the whole it is, perhaps, fortunate for Scotland, that the supreme court of that country has, in some measure, taken upon itself the functions of a legislature.

But whether the Union was an advantageous or disadvantageous measure, it could hardly be supposed that Prince Charles would consent to dissolve it, and confine his views to the possession of Scotland, so long as he had any hopes of also obtaining England. It is now perfectly well understood that he had received assurances of support from many of the most powerful families in England, as well as in Scotland; and whatever the interest of the people of Scotland might be, it was clearly not his interest, as that word is usually understood, to renounce England for Scotland, when he thought it was possible to obtain both.

since their accession to the throne, and have never received any other return for their tender regard than incessant persecution; the English shedding their blood even on the scaffold, and, at last, driving the whole family from the country, after stripping them of their crown. The mind of the Prince, however, was occupied only with England; and he seemed little flattered with the idea of possessing a kingdom to which, however, the family of Stuart owes its origin and its royalty.

The army of the Prince, after this victory, increased in numbers every day, and soon amounted to from four to five thousand men. He then became impatient to enter England, and, for that purpose, assembled a council of all the chiefs of clans, where his opinion was approved of by no one. * King George returned to London on the 11th of September †, and, alarmed at the defeat of General Cope, he recalled the whole of the English troops in the army of the allies in Flanders. The chiefs represented to the Prince that nothing could be more ridiculous than to attempt an invasion of England with such a handful of men,

* During the stay of the Prince in Edinburgh, all the British troops had returned from Flanders, accompanied by 6000 Dutch troops; and in consequence of the exertions of Lord President Forbes, Lord Lovat could not make good his promise of joining him with four or five or even six thousand men. No wonder that the chiefs were alarmed, and adverse to the expedition to England. In Waverley, the chief of Glennaquoich is represented as all ardour for the journey, and as neither asking, expecting, nor desiring "any aid except that of the clans, to place the Stuarts once more on the throne." Our author, however, gives a very different account of the feelings of *all* the Highland chiefs, who must indeed have been the blindest of the blind to entertain any hopes of success, without aid from a considerable part of the population of England. Mr. Home states that it was only after "long and anxious deliberation" that "Charles and his council resolved to march into England;" though he adds, that some of the bravest and most determined of the chiefs "trusted in themselves" alone.

† The King returned on the 31st of August.

when it was defended by fifty thousand regular troops and a numerous militia. Some of the chiefs even told him, that they had taken arms, and risked their fortunes and their lives, merely to seat him on the throne of Scotland; but that they wished to have nothing to do with England. However, the Prince pretending that he had received letters from several English lords, assuring him, that he should find them in arms on the borders, ready to join him with a considerable English force, the chiefs of the clans suffered themselves at length to yield, and, after many debates, gave their assent to his proposition. Thus the Prince, instead of remaining in Scotland on the defensive, set out with his army on the 1st of November from Edinburgh, where he had scarcely stayed long enough to perceive that he was entirely master of the kingdom; and that it was only necessary to adopt proper measures, and follow judicious counsels, to preserve his conquest. The enterprise was bold, nay rash, and unexampled. What man in his senses could think of encountering the English armies, and attempting the conquest of England, with four thousand five hundred Highlanders? It is true they were brave, resolute, and determined to fight to the very last, selling their lives as dearly as possible, having no alternative but victory or death; but still the disproportion between this handful of men and the whole force of England was so great as to preclude the slightest hope of success.

Our army remained in the town of Dalkeith, a league and a half from Edinburgh, till the 3d of November, when we set out for England; but before our departure, two vessels, the one French and the other Spanish, laden with money, arms, military stores, and six Swedish field-pieces, with a detachment of French artillery men, having reached Montrose in safety, on the 11th of

October, their cargoes were forwarded to Dalkeith. * These vessels also brought several Irish officers in the service of France, who joined us at the same place. Mr. Grant, an able mathematician, who had been employed for many years with M. Cassini in the observatory at Paris, was of the number; as also M d'Aiguille †, brother to the Marquis d'Argens, who took the title of ambassador of the king of France.

Our march was very judiciously planned, and equally well executed; resembling, on a small scale, that of Marshal Saxe some years before, when he advanced to lay siege to Maestricht. There are three great roads from Edinburgh to London: one of them runs along the eastern coast of Scotland, enters England at Berwick-upon-Tweed, and passes through Newcastle-upon-Tyne. This is the road generally taken. Another goes along the western coast of Scotland ‡, which enters England at Carlisle, a city formerly the frontier defence of the English against the incursions of the Scotch on the west, as Berwick was on the east. The third road lies between the other two. Our army was formed into three columns, each of which took a separate road on setting out from Dalkeith, with the view of keeping the enemy, by this stratagem, ignorant of the place where the Prince intended to enter England. This plan succeeded so well, that Marshal Wade, who was at Newcastle with eleven thousand men, whom he had lately brought from Flanders, including a corps of Swiss

* Three vessels, in all, entered Montrose and its neighbourhood at this time. The six field-pieces, and the artillery men, came by the third vessel.

† In Smollet's history he is called The Marquis de Guilles, and by Mr. Home *Boyer Marques d'Equillez.*

‡ This road from Edinburgh cannot, properly speaking, be stated to pass along the west coast of Scotland; for it runs through the very centre of the country, and only approaches the Solway Frith, an arm of the sea, on its entering England.

troops in British pay *, continued to cover and protect that city, which is one of the most important in England. Secrecy, in this case, was so well observed, that hardly any person in our army had the least idea of the place where the junction of the three columns would take place; and we were very much surprised on finding ourselves all arrive, on the 9th of November, almost at the same instant, on a heath in England, about a quarter of a league from the town of Carlisle. This march was arranged and executed with such precision, that there was not an interval of two hours between the arrival of the different columns.

Carlisle, a considerable town, and capital of the county of Cumberland, is only about a league and a half distant from the borders of Scotland. The river Esk, which is fordable, and about half the breadth of the Seine at Paris, here separates the two kingdoms, as the river Tweed does on the side of Berwick. The fortifications are in the old style, and have been entirely neglected for several centuries, in consequence of the cessation of the long wars between the two countries, and the final union of the crowns, on the death of Queen Elizabeth. It is surrounded by walls, flanked with towers, and a fosse, and contains a castle well furnished with artillery, and defended by a garrison of invalids. This castle was formerly a place of considerable strength; but at present its walls, like those of the town, are falling from age into decay. We opened our trenches before this place, under the orders of the Duke of Perth, on the night of the 10th of November, at the distance of eighty yards from the walls. Mr. Grant, an Irish officer of Lally's regiment, our prin-

* There were, it is believed, no Swiss troops in British pay; but, as the Dutch had always Swiss regiments in their pay, part of the troops sent by them as auxiliaries to this country were probably Swiss.

cipal engineer, ably availed himself of the ditches of inclosures, by which we were enabled to approach close to the town, sheltered from the fire of the enemy. Our artillery consisted of the six Swedish field-pieces received from France with Mr. Grant, and the six other field-pieces, of a smaller calibre, which we had taken at the battle of Gladsmuir.

Having learned that Marshal Wade was on his march to force us to raise the siege of Carlisle, and that he had already advanced with his army to the town of Hexham, the Prince left the Duke of Perth, with a small body of troops, to conduct the siege, and immediately marched against him; it being of the highest importance to us to give battle, before we advanced into England, in order to preserve a free communication with Scotland. The Prince, after waiting for the Marshal some days at Brampton, a small town eight miles from Carlisle, received positive information, that he had abandoned Hexham, and fallen back upon Newcastle; on which we returned to Carlisle. The Prince, on his return, had the satisfaction to receive the keys of the city from a deputation, sent to him to propose terms of capitulation. It surrendered the third day after the opening of the trenches; rather from our threatening to fire red-hot balls upon the town and reduce it to ashes, than from the force of our artillery; as we did not discharge a single shot, lest the garrison should become acquainted with the smallness of their calibre, which might have encouraged them to defend themselves.

The town first proposed to surrender without the castle; but as the Prince refused to receive the one without the other, the inhabitants became alarmed, and obliged the garrison to join in the capitulation. The military were made prisoners of war, and

dismissed, after taking an oath not to bear arms against the house of Stuart for the space of one year.

It is impossible to conceive why Marshal Wade, generally allowed to be the best general officer in the service of England, did not advance to Brampton, and endeavour to stop the progress of the Prince, by giving him battle, having an army of regular troops more than double the number of that of the Prince. Whether he was afraid of exposing himself to the Highlanders, after the disgrace of his brother-officer General Cope; whether he was unable to move from the diseases in his army, his soldiers not being accustomed to the fatigues of winter campaigns; or whether he had particular instructions from King George to risk nothing, and not to leave Newcastle, lest the colliers, who amount to more than twenty thousand, should seize this favourable opportunity for revolting, and join the Prince, in order to liberate themselves and their posterity from perpetual slavery in the mines, it is impossible to say; but he remained always inactive under the walls of that town.*

* The conduct of Marshal Wade is certainly inexplicable; and, as it appears infinitely more censurable than that of General Cope, it is somewhat surprising that he was never called to an account for it. Carlisle is only about sixty miles from Newcastle. The rebels invested Carlisle on the 9th of November, and the news of this might have reached him next day; yet he did not quit Newcastle till the 15th, (for the author is mistaken in supposing that he did not quit it all,) the very day the city and castle of Carlisle surrendered. On the 17th, he had got as far as Hexham, twenty-two miles from Newcastle, when he received information of the surrender, upon which he quietly marched his troops back again. He had not the excuse of General Cope for delaying his march, as the scene of operations abounded in provisions, and therefore no great preparations were rendered necessary.

With respect to the supposed slavery of the colliers of Newcastle, this is a mistake into which it was very easy for a Scotsman of that day to fall. The colliers and salters of Scotland were then, and long afterwards, in a state of slavery;

M. Patullo, our muster-master, reviewed our army at Carlisle, when it did not exceed four thousand five hundred men. * The Prince held a council of all the Highland chiefs, in which he again pretended that he had received fresh letters from his friends in England, assuring him that he should find all of them in arms, on his arrival at Preston. The chiefs represented in strong terms the danger of attempting to penetrate farther into

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and the author naturally supposed that the English colliers were in the same situation. What led to the general emancipation of villains in former ages, led to the emancipation of these bondsmen in our days; namely, the interest of their masters. While a free-labourer received considerably less wages in Scotland than at Newcastle, the enslaved Scots collier received one-third more than the free English collier.

* M. Patullo himself says, in his answer to some queries from Mr. Home, "the number of the rebels, when they began their march into England, was a few above 5000 foot, with about 500 on horseback, mostly Low-Country gentlemen, and their servants, under the names of guards, hussars, &c.;" and Mr. Home, on his authority, says, "when the rebels began their march to the southward, they were not 6000 men complete; they exceeded 5500, of whom 400 or 500 were cavalry." Ray of Whitehaven, a volunteer under the Duke of Cumberland, states, in his "Complete History of the Rebellion," (a violent and vulgar party production,) that the numbers of the rebel army were taken by the principal inhabitants of Derby, in all the parishes, on the first and second nights of their stay in that town; and that on the first night they amounted to 7008, and on the second to 7148. This account would not differ very much from that of M. Patullo, as the rebels had been joined in England by the men who formed the Manchester regiment, if we were to suppose that the numbers on leaving Edinburgh, and at the review at Carlisle, were the same. But as Mr. Home informs us that, of the whole number, *not quite four thousand* were real Highlanders, who formed *the Clan regiments*; and that a good many men had deserted from the Low-Country regiments, in the march from Edinburgh to Carlisle," there is good reason for suspecting that the author's account of the result of the review at Carlisle is not far distant from the truth; though M. Patullo states, that "after the retreat from England, there appeared on the Green of Glasgow full 5000 men." Most of the English had on the retreat been left behind at Carlisle.

England, with such a small army; and maintained that his most prudent course was to return to Scotland, fix his residence at Edinburgh, and carry on a defensive war in that country, till such time as he was in a condition to change it into an offensive one; as all the succours expected from the English, who had promised to join him on the borders, had vanished into smoke. The Prince, however, insisted always on advancing into England; and the chiefs at length gave their consent.

Our cavalry left Carlisle on the 20th of November, and marched that day to Penrith, a distance of twelve miles. * It consisted of two companies of life-guards, composed of young gentlemen. Lord Elcho, now Earl of Wemyss and a peer of Scotland, a nobleman equally distinguished for his illustrious birth, and his singular merit, commanded the first company; and Lord Balmerino commanded the second. Besides the life-guards, there was a body of one hundred and fifty gentlemen on horseback, commanded by Lord Pitsligo. † On the 21st, the Prince followed with the infantry, and passed the night at Penrith; Lord Elcho, with the cavalry which he commanded,

* Penrith is eighteen miles from Carlisle.

† "This Peer," says Mr. Home, "who drew after him such a number of gentlemen, had only a moderate fortune; but he was much beloved and greatly esteemed by his neighbours, who looked upon him as a man of excellent judgment, and of a wary and cautious temper; so that when he, who was deemed so wise and prudent, declared his purpose of joining Charles, most of the gentlemen in that part of the country where he lived, who favoured the Pretender's cause, put themselves under his command, thinking they could not follow a better or a safer guide than Lord Pitsligo." Dr. King says of this nobleman, that he was universally admired and beloved, and that he persuaded himself he had "not one enemy in the world." He held the situation in the rebel army which the author of Waverley assigns to the *Baron of Bradwardine*, that admirable portrait of a Scots gentleman of the last age.

as first captain of the life-guards, passed the night at Shap, a village eight miles south from Penrith. The Prince, on quitting Carlisle, left a garrison of two or three hundred men in the castle.

On the 22d the cavalry advanced to Kendal, and the infantry, with the Prince, remained at Penrith; and on the 23d the cavalry and infantry met at Kendal. On the 24th, the cavalry passed the night at Lancaster, whilst the infantry rested at Kendal; and on the 25th, the cavalry advanced to Preston, and the infantry passed the night at Lancaster.

The cavalry, having passed the bridge of Preston on the 26th, occupied a village near the suburbs, and our infantry arrived at Preston. The Prince held here a council of the chiefs of clans; gave them fresh hopes of being joined by his English partisans, on their arrival at Manchester; and persuaded them to continue their march. The whole army was allowed to rest itself during the 27th at Preston. On the 28th our army left Preston, and passed the night at Wigan; and on the 29th we arrived at Manchester, where we remained during the 30th.

On the evening of the battle of Gladsmuir, the Prince having given me a commission of captain of infantry, without attaching me to any regiment, tired of the functions of aid-de-camp, which wore me out with fatigue, I immediately began to exert myself to raise a company, and when it was completed, I joined with it the regiment of the Duke of Perth, and resigned my laborious office. This did not take place, however, without some expression of pique on the part of Lord George Murray, who was unwilling that I should quit him. The Duke of Perth immedi-

ately placed me in the artillery, with three other companies of his regiment, a situation almost as fatiguing as that which I had quitted, as I was frequently obliged to pass the night in the open air, and without any shelter, in the most severe weather, in the midst of winter, when any of the waggons happened to break down from the badness of the roads, in order to take care of the artillery, whilst the workmen were repairing the waggons.

One of my serjeants, named Dickson, whom I had enlisted from among the prisoners of war at Gladsmuir, a young Scotsman, as brave and intrepid as a lion, and very much attached to my interest, informed me, on the 27th, at Preston, that he had been beating up for recruits all day without getting one; and that he was the more chagrined at this, as the other serjeants had had better success. He therefore came to ask my permission to get a day's march a-head of the army, by setting out immediately for Manchester, a very considerable town of England, containing 40,000 inhabitants, in order to make sure of some recruits before the arrival of the army. I reproved him sharply for entertaining so wild and extravagant a project, which exposed him to the danger of being taken and hanged, and I ordered him back to his company. Having much confidence in him, I had given him a horse, and entrusted him with my portmanteau, that I might always have it with me. On entering my quarters in the evening, my landlady informed me that my servant had called and taken away my portmanteau and blunderbuss. I immediately bethought myself of his extravagant project, and his situation gave me much uneasiness. But on our arrival at Manchester, on the evening of the following day, the 29th, Dickson brought me about one hundred and eighty recruits, whom he had enlisted for my company.

He had quitted Preston, in the evening, with his mistress and my drummer; and having marched all night he arrived next morning at Manchester, which is about twenty miles distant from Preston, and immediately began to beat up for recruits for "the yellow haired laddie." The populace, at first, did not interrupt him, conceiving our army to be near the town; but as soon as they knew that it would not arrive till the evening, they surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, with the intention of taking him prisoner, alive or dead. Dickson presented his blunderbuss, which was charged with slugs, threatening to blow out the brains of those who first dared to lay hands on himself or the two who accompanied him; and by turning round continually, facing in all directions, and behaving like a lion, he soon enlarged the circle, which a crowd of people had formed round them. Having continued for some time to manœuvre in this way, those of the inhabitants of Manchester who were attached to the house of Stuart, took arms, and flew to the assistance of Dickson, to rescue him from the fury of the mob; so that he soon had five or six hundred men to aid him, who dispersed the crowd in a very short time. Dickson now triumphed in his turn; and putting himself at the head of his followers, he proudly paraded undisturbed the whole day, with his drummer, enlisting for my company all who offered themselves.

On presenting me with a list of one hundred and eighty recruits, I was agreeably surprised to find that the whole amount of his expences did not exceed three guineas. This adventure of Dickson gave rise to many a joke, at the expense of the town of Manchester, from the singular circumstance of its having been taken by a serjeant, a drummer, and a girl. This circumstance

may serve to show the enthusiastic courage of our army, and the alarm and terror with which the English were seized.

I did not derive any advantage from these recruits, to the great regret of Dickson. Mr. Townley, formerly an officer in the service of France, who had joined us some days before, obtained the rank of colonel, with permission to raise a regiment entirely composed of English; and the Prince ordered me to deliver over to him all those whom Dickson had enlisted for me. It was called the Manchester regiment, and never exceeded three hundred men; of whom the recruits furnished by my serjeant formed more than the half. These were all the English who ever declared themselves openly in favour of the Prince; and the chiefs of the clans were not far wrong, therefore, in distrusting the pretended succours, on which the Prince so implicitly relied.

Our army left Manchester on the 1st of December, and passed the night at Macclesfield. On the 2d, our cavalry reached Congleton, a town about three leagues from Newcastle-under-line, where the Duke of Cumberland was posted with an army of ten thousand men, who retired to Litchfield on the approach of our troops.* Lord Elcho having suddenly entered Newcastle-under-Lyne, to reconnoitre the enemy, took Mr. Weir, the principal spy of the Duke of Cumberland, prisoner. On the 3d, our cavalry advanced to Ashborn, having passed through Leek, where our infantry stopt for the night.

* Mr. Home states, that the rebel army marched from Manchester to Macclesfield; that at Macclesfield it divided, and one division advanced by Congleton, and the other straight on to Leek; and from Leek, by Ashborn to Derby, where both divisions arrived on the 4th of December; that divisions of the Duke of Cumberland's army lay at Litchfield, Coventry, Stafford, and Newcastle-under-Lyne; and that it seemed to be the intention of the rebels to avoid an action with the Duke's army, and push on to London.

On the 4th the whole of our army reached Derby, a considerable town, about thirty leagues distant from * London. The Duke of Cumberland being only a league from Derby, our army employed the 5th in making preparations for giving battle to him next morning. There was a great disproportion between the numbers of the two armies; but the inequality was balanced by the heroic ardour of the Highlanders, animated, on that occasion, to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and breathing nothing but a desire for the combat. They were to be seen, during the whole day, in crowds before the shops of the cutlers, quarrelling about who should be the first to sharpen and give a proper edge to their swords.

Whilst every preparation was making for giving battle to the Duke of Cumberland next morning, a courier arrived from Lord John Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth; and the dispatches of which he was the bearer, totally changed the face of our affairs. † His lordship informed the Prince of his having

* Derby is 127 miles from London.

† Mr. Home states, that "in the march from Carlisle to Derby, notice came to Charles that Lord John Drummond, the Duke of Perth's brother, had arrived at Montrose with his own regiment of foot, which he called the Royal Scots, with Fitzjames's regiment of horse, and the picquets of six Irish regiments, in the service of France." The statement of our author is much more likely to be true; and indeed the whole of his account of the proceedings at Derby contains the only rational explanation of the resolutions then adopted by the rebel army. This account is the more valuable, as it contains the most complete and satisfactory refutation of the calumnies circulated by John Hay, who acted, for a time, as the Prince's secretary, against Lord George Murray. Hay states, that "there was a council of war held at Macclesfield, in which it was unanimously agreed to make some forced marches, so as to get between the Duke's army and London, and then march on as fast as they could to the capital:" and that "one of the keenest for that measure was Lord George Murray:" that Lord George Murray falsely used the names of many chiefs at Derby, to induce the Prince to believe that it was the general desire

landed at Montrose, with his regiment of Royal Scots, newly raised in France, and some picquets of the Irish brigade. He added, in his letter to the Prince, that before his departure from France, the whole Irish brigade had embarked, besides several French regiments; and that there was every probability they would arrive in Scotland before his letter could reach the Prince. He informed the Prince, at the same time, that he had a force of three thousand men, partly composed of the troops brought by him from France, and partly of the Highlanders who could not join the Prince before his departure for England. On our arrival at Derby, a courier had been dispatched to London, who returned next day, and informed us, that, besides the army of the Duke of Cumberland, which was within a few miles of Derby, there was another army of thirty thousand men encamped on Finchley Common; which however, with the exception of some regiments of guards, consisted mostly of militia.

In the afternoon of the 5th, the Prince held a council on the accounts which the two couriers had brought. The council sat a long time, and the debates were very keen. The question for deliberation was, whether we should continue to advance on London, or return to Scotland, and avail ourselves of the reinforcement of 3000 men with Lord John Drummond, and wait in that

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of the chiefs to retreat; and that Charles "was extremely offended, and absolutely averse to march back, since they had now so far carried their point as to have got before the Duke's army." Mr. Home transmitted queries to Charles at Rome, who contradicted part of Hay's statement; but refused to say whether or not there was a council of war held at Macclesfield, at which the resolution to march on to London was taken. If, however, the dispatches from Lord John Drummond only reached the rebel army at Derby, the resolution to retreat then was not inconsistent with a prior resolution at Macclesfield to advance.

country for the succours from France, the speedy arrival of which was held out to us by Lord John. The Prince obstinately insisted on giving battle next morning (the 6th), to the Duke of Cumberland, and advancing to London; but he was the only one who was of that opinion.

The chiefs of the Highland clans, since the council held at Preston, had never opposed the Prince in any thing, as they saw themselves too far advanced in England to be able to retreat. Having embarked in this extravagant enterprise, they felt that they had no alternative but continuing the adventure, and conquering, or dying with arms in their hands: for, in case of a defeat, in England, no one in our army could by any possibility escape destruction, as the English peasants were hostile towards us in the highest degree; and, besides, the army of Marshal Wade was in our rear, to cut us off from all communication with Scotland.

But this intelligence from Lord John Drummond totally changed our views and the state of our affairs, by announcing three thousand men, and succours from France, which, according to the account of Lord John, would by that time be, in all probability, arrived in Scotland, and ready to join us on the frontiers of England. The chiefs of clans, therefore, unanimously represented to the Prince, that, with an army disposed as ours was, there could be no doubt but that we should easily beat the army of the Duke of Cumberland, though much superior to us in point of numbers; but that a victory could not be obtained without more or less loss; and that an army of four thousand five hundred men, opposed to the whole strength of England, could not admit of the smallest diminution; especially as a second battle must soon after be fought against another English army on Finchley Common, before we could enter London; and that supposing, by

some miracle, we should arrive at this capital without losing a man, what sort of figure would four thousand men make amidst a population of a million of souls? They added, besides, that the Prince ought now to see clearly how the matter stood with regard to his English partisans, since, after traversing all the provinces which had the reputation of being the most attached to his family, in order to enable them to join him, a single person of distinction had not yet declared himself. The Duke of Perth alone took no part, at first, in these debates between the Prince and the chiefs of the clans; resting his head against the fire-place, and listening to the dispute without uttering a single word; but at last he declared himself loudly of the opinion of the other chiefs.

The Prince always obstinately insisted on going to London. He maintained that we were in greater danger of being cut to pieces in retreating to Scotland than in advancing, because the Duke of Cumberland, the moment he knew of our retreat, would be sure to pursue us hotly, and to be constantly at our heels; whilst Marshal Wade, who would certainly receive orders to interpose his army between us and Carlisle, would cut off our communication with Scotland; so that, by this manœuvre, which the enemy would be sure to adopt, we should be placed between two fires, and all caught, as it were, in a net.

The chiefs of the clans answered the Prince, that our army, being without the incumbrance of baggage, and the Highlanders extremely agile, and hardy, as they had often proved since they entered England, marching twenty miles a-day, without leaving any stragglers, by having merely the start for a few hours of the Duke of Cumberland, they would prevent him from ever overtaking us; as his army could scarcely march twelve miles

in a winter day and with bad roads, without leaving the half of the soldiers behind. We had, therefore, little to fear from this army. As for the army of Marshal Wade, we had no greater reason for fearing it now, than when we entered England: nay, nothing was more desirable than that we should fall in with it; because, by beating it, we should retire gloriously from England with arms in our hands, which would console the Highlanders, whose hopes would be disappointed by their retreat.

The retreat was, at length, fixed for next morning, the 6th of December; and the better to conceal it, we left Derby some hours before day-break. The Highlanders, conceiving at first that they were on their march to attack the army of the Duke of Cnmberland, displayed the utmost joy and cheerfulness; but as soon as the day allowed them to see the objects around them, and they found that we were retracing our steps, nothing was to be heard throughout the whole army but expressions of rage and lamentation. If we had been beat the grief could not have been greater. *

* John Hay, the individual mentioned in the preceding note, stated that the army was ready to march from Derby on the 5th; that every one had repaired to his post; that Charles and Hay were alone in a room of the house where Charles had slept, when Lord George Murray came in as Charles had put on his bonnet to go out, and said to him, that it was high time to think what they were to do; that Charles asked him what he meant, as he thought it was resolved to march on, when Lord George said, that most of the chiefs were of a different opinion, and thought they should march back to Ashborn, and join the army from Scotland; that Charles was extremely offended, and Lord George Murray went and came and used the names of many of the chiefs who he said were bent on a junction with the other army; that the whole day was spent in intrigue and cabal, but no council of war was called; that Charles, by the repeated asseverations of Lord George and the people he had brought over to his way of thinking, was induced to believe that it was the general desire of the army, and forced to

Our arrival at Derby was known at London on the 5th of December; and the following day, called by the English *Black*

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consent; that next morning when they began their march very few knew that they were marching back, and that many persons of distinction did not know it, and among them Lord Nairn; and that when the men who had marched in the grey of the morning began to know, by day light, from the marks they had taken of the road, that they were going back, there was a univeral lamentation among them, &c.

In this tissue of falsehoods the only circumstances which appear to have any foundation in truth, are the unwillingness of Charles to retreat, and the lamentations of the Highlanders. The Prince, though we are not disposed to lay the greatest stress on his evidence, in answer to queries transmitted to him by Mr. Home, expressly affirmed that the retreat of the army was *in consequence of a council of war*, held in his presence some time before the retreat took place, composed of the general officers and chiefs; that *all the members except himself* were of opinion that the retreat was absolutely necessary; and that he endeavoured to persuade some of them to join him, but could not prevail on *one single person*.

The author of Waverley, who, to use his own words, has "embodied in imaginary scenes, and ascribed to fictitious characters" the incidents of this enterprise, and who gives to Fergus Macivor, the chieftain of Glenaquoich, the position in the rebel army occupied by Macdonald of Glengary, represents him to have "argued or rather remonstrated (against the retreat) with the utmost vehemence at the council of war; and when his opinion was rejected," to have "shed tears of grief and indignation." It may be proper to point out this departure from fact in a work which is supposed to be founded on facts, and which is read so much more generally than any history of these transactions. It would, no doubt, have been inconsistent with the towering ambition which he has assigned to Glenaquoich, to make him relinquish his daring projects without a hard struggle; but history must represent things not as they *ought to have been*, but *as they were*.

No part of this enterprise has been more misrepresented than the proceedings at Derby. Smollet tells us that Charles "called a council at Derby, and proposed to advance towards London: the proposal was supported by Lord Nairn, with great vehemence; but after violent disputes the majority determined that they should retreat to Scotland with all possible expedition." And yet Smollet was generally supposed to be a Jacobite himself, and was well acquainted with some of those who took an active part in favour of the Pretender!

Monday *, the intelligence was known throughout the whole city, which was filled with terror and consternation. Many of the inhabitants fled to the country, with their most precious effects, and all the shops were shut. People thronged to the Bank to obtain payment of its notes; and it only escaped bankruptcy by a stratagem. Payment was not indeed refused; but as those who came first were entitled to priority of payment, the Bank took care to be continually surrounded by agents with notes, who were paid in sixpences, in order to gain time. These agents went out at one door with the specie they had received, and brought it back by another; so that the *bona fide* holders of notes could never get near enough to present them; and the Bank, by this artifice, preserved its credit, and literally faced its creditors. It being known at London that our army was within a few miles of that of the Duke of Cumberland, the news of a battle, for the result of which they were in the greatest alarm, was expected every moment; and they dreaded to see our army enter London in triumph in two or three days. † King

* If the intelligence reached London on the 5th of December, the following day could not be called *Black Monday*, for it was a *Friday*. The Monday following the arrival at Derby was the 9th of December.

† That the account here given of the consternation which prevailed in London at this time is by no means exaggerated, is evident from the concurring testimony of the most respectable contemporary writers. Smollet says "the trading part of the city, and those concerned in *the money corporations*, were overwhelmed with fear and dejection. * * * * * * They reflected that the Highlanders, of whom by this time they had conceived a most terrible idea, were within four days' march of the capital. Alarmed by these considerations, they prognosticated their own ruin in the approaching revolution; and their countenances exhibited the plainest marks of horror and despair." Fielding, in a number of the True Patriot, says, that when the Highlanders, by *a most incredible march*, got between the Duke's army and the metropolis, they *struck a terror* into it "scarce to be credited." If the expedition of the Pretender yet fills the world with surprise, we may well excuse the monied corpor-

George ordered all his yachts, in which he had embarked all his most precious effects, to remain at the Tower quay, in readiness to sail at a moment's warning. I was assured, on good authority, when I was in London, some time after our unfortunate defeat, that the Duke of Newcastle, then secretary of state for the war department, remained inaccessible in his own house, the whole of the 6th of December, weighing in his mind the part which it would be most prudent for him to take, and even uncertain whether he should not instantly declare himself for the Pretender. It was even said at London, that fifty thousand men had actually left that city to meet the Prince, and join his army.

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ations of London, the gentlemen of Change Alley, however wise in their generation, for giving way to these apprehensions. They had seen, to borrow the forcible language of Fielding, "a half-armed, half-disciplined mob," (in their view of the Highlanders, for how should they have known that there is any difference between a thousand men collected at random from the streets, and another thousand men, from the state of society in which they lived, necessarily trained from their youth upwards in all the habits and practices of war, though not soldiers by name?) "without the assistance of a single piece of artillery, march up to attack, and *smite* a superior number of the King's regular troops, with cannon in their front to defend them;" they had seen them remain in the northern capital for nearly two months, "in contempt of twelve millions of people, above a hundred thousand of which had arms in their hands, and one half of these the best troops in Europe;" they had seen "these banditti, not yet increased to full 6000, and above one-third of these old men and boys, not to be depended on, by long and painful marches over almost inaccessible mountains, through the worst of roads in the worst of seasons, slipping our army, and proceeding without a check through a long tract of country, through many towns and cities, passing another army sent to oppose them, and by a most incredible march getting between that also and the metropolis;" and though another army was still interposed, yet when a descent was threatened every day from the neighbouring coast, we can hardly wonder that they did not see in anticipation the result which things actually took, but looked forward to the certain re-instatement of the Stuart family on the throne.

And every body in the capital was of opinion, that, if we had beaten the Duke of Cumberland, the army of Finchley Common would have dispersed of its own accord; and that by advancing rapidly to London, we might have taken possession of the city, without the least resistance from the inhabitants, and without exchanging a single shot with the soldiers; as the King had formed the resolution of embarking immediately in one of his yachts, and setting sail for Holland, in case the battle, which was expected at Derby, had proved unfavourable to his son, the Duke of Cumberland. Thus a revolution would have been effected in England, so glorious for the few Scotchmen by whom it was attempted, and altogether so surprising that the world would not have comprehended it, and posterity would scarcely have credited it. It is true, the English were altogether ignorant of the number of our army, from the care we took in our marches to conceal it; and it was almost impossible for their spies ever to discover it, as we generally arrived in the towns at night-fall, and left them before the break of day. In all the English newspapers our numbers were uniformly stated as high as twelve or fifteen thousand men. *

I dare not attempt to decide whether we did right or wrong in returning to Scotland. The Supreme Being alone can penetrate into futurity, through those dark clouds which conceal it from the eyes of feeble mortals, and foresee those obscure and unexpected events which frequently counteract the best combined projects, and most maturely digested plans of

* Great pains were, no doubt, taken by the rebels to conceal their numbers; but the author is mistaken in supposing that Government was not in possession of pretty accurate information on this subject.

the greatest of men. The human mind is extremely limited in its foresight with regard to accident: it can only judge from probabilities, and decide as to the consequences that ought naturally to result from measures. If we had continued to advance to London, and had encountered all the troops of England, with the Hessians and Swiss in its pay, there was every appearance of our being immediately exterminated, without the chance of a single man escaping. Bravery, even when carried the length of ferocity, cannot effect impossibilities, and must necessarily yield to numbers. It is in analyzing projects that we must judge of their solidity, and find out the truth; and not in considering the event.

Prince Eugene did not succeed in his attempt to surprise Cremona, and was obliged to retire, after having been the whole day in possession of that city: yet the accuracy of his combinations in the plan of attack, and his sagacity in its execution, will be the constant admiration of military men, and justified it to himself. He ought to have succeeded, according to every human probability, which is all that we can exact from a general. In forming his plan he could not foresee, that, after he had entered the city without discovery, and been in possession of all the squares and streets, a guide, whom he had sent to conduct a detachment to the bridge, to take possession of it, in order to allow Prince Rupert, who was on the other side of the river with a body of troops, to enter the town, would unfortunately mistake the streets that lead directly to the bridge, and by this mistake lose half an hour of time, when it was so precious, which caused the ruin of his enterprise. Neither could he foresee the obstinate and unheard-of defence of a garrison, of which the general had been taken prisoner, and which did not at last possess a *single*

superior officer to command and direct its movements: each common subaltern commanded independently his little platoon, composed of the soldiers of the different regiments whom chance brought together on leaving their barracks. But if Prince Eugene had proposed, with four thousand men, to fight an army of ten thousand to-day, and another of thirty thousand to-morrow, and then to take possession of a city containing a million of inhabitants, what would all sensible men have said of his project? There was no reason for supposing that fifty thousand men would leave London to join our army, as in every place we passed through we found the English very ill-disposed towards us, except at Manchester, where there appeared some remains of attachment to the house of Stuart. But even if we had been certain of this reinforcement from London, it was absolutely necessary for us to defeat two armies before reaching it, and to have no other enemy to encounter; for the English people make a great noise, but are not fond of blows, nor of quitting their fire-sides. And even supposing us to have completely beaten the army of the Duke of Cumberland, the wreck of his army would have fallen back on Finchley Common, and strengthened the army there.

Had Lord John Drummond, on his landing, advanced by forced marches, as he ought to have done *, and joined us on

* Lord John Drummond arrived only in the end of November. His letter to Lord Fortrose, announcing his arrival, and conveying an exaggerated account of the amount of his force, in order to induce Lord Fortrose to join him, is dated the 6th December. The troops he brought with him were his own regiment, the Royal Scots, the piquets of six Irish regiments, with Fitzjames's regiment of horse, which from captures by English cruisers was so incomplete, that it never showed more than two troops of fifty men each. But by the march into England, the south of Scotland was evacuated by the rebels, and on the 14th November two regiments of foot, with Hamilton's and Gardner's dragoons, arrived at Edinburgh from Berwick, and a number

the borders of England, with his three thousand men, instead of remaining inactive in Scotland, it is certain that no one in our army would ever have thought of a retreat, whatever assurances we might have received of succours from France. And it is equally certain, that if Lord John had not landed with his regiment in Scotland, we had penetrated so far into England, that as we had now no better prospect than to follow up the enterprise, we should all of us have fallen, like brave men, with arms in our hands, or made ourselves masters of London, and driven

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of men immediately took up arms in aid of Government. The King's troops began their march towards Stirling on the 7th of December, and the Glasgow regiment of six hundred men, commanded by the Earl of Home, joined them on the 12th. Several more companies were preparing to follow, but General Blakeney, thinking the body of men he had sufficient to *guard the passages of the Forth*, (it was then, be it recollected, the middle of winter,) let the magistrates of Glasgow know it was not necessary to send any more men to Stirling. Another King's army had been assembling in the north of Scotland, under the command of Lord Loudon, which, about the middle of November, amounted to more than 2000 men. This force would have overawed the friends of the Pretender in that part of Scotland, if Lord John Drummond had not detached a part of his force to assist Lord Lewis Gordon at Aberdeen, who was employed in raising men and collecting money in the adjacent country.

Before Charles left Carlisle, on his march southward, Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan was dispatched with an order to Lord Strathallan, the commander-in-chief in his absence at Perth, the place of general rendezvous, to march immediately with all the forces under his command, and follow the army into England; but with this order Lord Strathallan and his council of officers, to the great indignation of the Highland officers, did not deem it expedient to comply. At that time, while the passages of the Forth were yet undefended, it might have been possible for Highlanders to make their way into England; but as that opportunity was neglected, it is not very easy to see how such a heterogeneous assemblage of Highlanders and Lowlanders, Irish, Scots, and French, could possibly form a junction with the Prince's main army, till the King's troops, and Glasgow regiment left Stirling, in the latter end of December.

King George from his throne. There was no alternative. Lord John was likewise inexcusable in having communicated to the Prince the false intelligence of a certain aid of ten thousand men from France, which, from the positive assurances in his letter was so implicitly believed, that every individual in our army deemed this force already landed in Scotland. The first thing we did in the morning, was to see whether the wind was favourable; and every moment we expected to receive an account of the disembarkation. This false report of Lord John Drummond had undoubtedly great influence in producing the resolution taken at Derby, of retreating to Scotland.

On the 6th of December our army passed the night at Ashborn; on the 7th we reached Leek; the 8th, Macclesfield; the 9th, Manchester; the 10th, Wigan; and the 11th, Preston, where we remained during the 12th. We arrived at Lancaster on the 13th, where we recruited ourselves during the 14th; and on the 15th we reached Kendal, where we received certain information that we had left Marshal Wade behind us, and that we were no longer in any danger of having our retreat to Scotland cut off. Lord George Murray, who was always informed of whatever took place in the armies of the enemy, and often, by means of his emissaries, even knew all the movements they intended to make, had a great advantage over them; for they were totally ignorant of every thing that related to our army. In order to ascertain more particularly the position of the army of Marshal Wade, which was very near us at Kendal, as he had quitted the position so long occupied by him at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, having been ordered by the Duke of Cumberland to place himself between us and Scotland, in order to cut off our retreat, as we had foreseen at Derby, though, from a delay of some hours in

his march, we had contrived to outstrip him, Lord George took a detachment of life-guards, and went himself, as soon as it was dark, to reconnoitre this position. In about two hours he returned, with several English whom he had made prisoners, and who gave him all the information of which he was desirous.

The Prince having acquired a strong relish for battles, from the facility with which he had gained the victory at Gladsmuir, at so small an expense, was always for fighting, and sometimes even reproached Lord George for his unwillingness to incur the risk of an engagement, when no advantage could be derived from a victory *, and for his having prevented him from fighting the Duke of Cumberland at Derby. Lord George said to him in the morning, as we were about to leave Kendal, "As your Royal Highness is always for battles, be the circumstances what they may, I now offer you one, in three hours from this time, with the army of Marshal Wade, which is only about two miles distant from us." The Prince made no reply, but mounted into his carriage; and we immediately put ourselves in motion to continue our retreat.

On the 16th, our army passed the night at Shap; but our

* This eagerness to fight on all occasions was natural to a weak mind, which saw only the result without knowing to what particular circumstances it was to be attributed; and his Irish and French confidential advisers seem to have been as blind and imbecile as himself. They thought that Highlanders, because they could suffer much, could suffer every thing, and were exempt from the common wants of our nature. This blindness could not fail soon to involve the cause in ruin, as it did at Culloden, when the rebel army, which was exhausted by fatigue, hunger, and want of sleep, and therefore could only fight at a great disadvantage, might have avoided an engagement with the utmost ease, but *for Sir Thomas Sheridan and others*, who, as Mr. Patullo observes, "having lost all patience, and hoping, no doubt, for a miracle, *in which light most of them had considered both the victory at Preston and that at Falkirk*, insisted upon a battle, and prevailed."

artillery remained at the distance of a league and a half from Kendal, some ammunition waggons having broken down, so that we were obliged to pass the whole night on the high-road, exposed to a dreadful storm of wind and rain. On the 17th, the Prince, with the army, arrived at Penrith; but the artillery, with Lord George, and the regiment of the Macdonalds of Glengary, consisting of five hundred men, who remained with us to strengthen our ordinary escort, could only reach Shap, and that with great difficulty, at night-fall.

We set out from Shap by break of day, on the 18th, to join the army, which waited for us at Penrith; but we had scarcely begun our march when we saw a great number of the enemy's light horse continually hovering about us; without venturing, however, to come within musket shot. The appearance of these light horse appeared the more extraordinary, as, hitherto, we had seen none in the whole course of our expedition in England. Having arrived, at mid-day, at the foot of an eminence, which it was necessary to cross in our march to Penrith, about half-way between that town and Shap, the moment we began to ascend, we instantly discovered cavalry, marching two and two abreast on the top of the hill, who disappeared soon after, as if to form themselves in order of battle, behind the eminence which concealed their numbers from us, with the intention of disputing the passage. We heard, at the same time, a prodigious number of trumpets and kettle-drums. Mr. Brown, colonel in the train of Lally's regiment, was at the head of the column, with two of the companies which the Duke of Perth had attached to the artillery, and of which mine was one. After them followed the guns and ammunition-waggons, and then the two other companies at-

tached to the artillery. Lord George was in the rear of the column, with the regiment of Macdonalds.

We stopt a moment at the foot of the hill, every body believing it was the English army, from the great number of trumpets and kettle-drums. In this seemingly desperate conjuncture, we immediately adopted the opinion of Mr. Brown, and resolved to rush upon the enemy sword in hand, and open a passage to our army at Penrith, or perish in the attempt. Thus, without informing Lord George of our resolution, we darted forward with great swiftness, running up the hill as fast as our legs could carry us. Lord George, who was in the rear, seeing our manœuvre at the head of the column, and being unable to pass the waggons in the deep roads confined by hedges in which we then were, immediately ordered the Highlanders to proceed across the inclosure, and ascend the hill from another quarter. They ran so fast that they reached the summit of the hill almost as soon as those who were at the head of the column. We were agreeably surprised when we reached the top to find, instead of the English army, only three hundred light horse and chasseurs, who immediately fled in disorder, and of whom we were only able to come up with one man, who had been thrown from his horse, and whom we wished to make prisoner, to obtain some intelligence from him; but it was impossible to save him from the fury of the Highlanders, who cut him to pieces in an instant. From the great number of trumpets and kettle-drums which the light-horse had with them, there is every reason for supposing that it was their design to endeavour to induce us to turn aside from the road to Penrith, by making us believe that the whole English army was on the hill before us: and, if we had fallen into the snare

which was laid for us, in a few hours every man of our detachment would either have been killed or taken prisoner.

We immediately resumed our march; but, in less than an hour, one of our ammunition waggons having broken down from the badness of the roads, we were obliged to halt. The singular adventure of the light-horse had filled me with some uneasiness, as I was unable to account for their audacity, unless the army of Marshal Wade were much nearer us than we imagined; and I communicated my fears to Mr. Grant, an officer of great talents, who commanded our artillery, and acted as our engineer, at the same time: and in order that we might not lose time in repairing the broken waggon, I suggested to him that we should go to a farm, which we saw on our right, about a quarter of a league from us, and try to procure one. He consented; and we took seven or eight men with us, of whom my serjeant, Dickson, was one. Having found a waggon in the court-yard of the farmer, we immediately carried it off; and our march was retarded no longer than the time necessary for transferring the ammunition from one waggon to another. In returning from the farm, Dickson called our attention to something which appeared blackish to us, on a hill about a league to our left; and he alone, contrary to the opinion of every one else, maintained that he saw it moving, and that it was the English army, advancing towards us. As we took what he saw for bushes, and as nobody, except himself, could distinguish any thing, I treated him as a visionary: but he still persisted, till I ordered him to be silent; telling him, that fear alone could have filled his imagination with the idea of an army. However, his last word was, that we should see in an hour whether or not he was in the right.

When we had advanced about two miles, we were soon con-

vinced that Dickson's eyes were much better than ours. The Duke of Cumberland, having followed us, by forced marches, with two thousand cavalry, and as many foot soldiers mounted behind them, fell suddenly on the Macdonalds, who were in the rear of the column, with all the fury and impetuosity imaginable. Fortunately, the road running between thorn hedges, and ditches, the cavalry could not act in such a manner as to surround us, nor present a larger front to us than the breadth of the road. The Highlanders received their charge with the most undaunted firmness. They repelled the assailants with their swords, and did not quit their ground till the artillery and waggons were a hundred paces from them, and continuing their rout. Then the Highlanders wheeled to the right, and ran with full speed, till they joined the waggons, when they stopt again for the cavalry, and stood their charge as firm as a wall. The cavalry were repulsed in the same manner as before by their swords. We marched in this manner about a mile, the cavalry continually renewing the charge, and the Highlanders always repulsing them, repeating the same manœuvre, and behaving like lions.

The Prince, having received, at Penrith, an imperfect account of our adventure with the light-horse, immediately ordered the army to advance to our assistance: and the English cavalry, having accompanied us in this manner till we arrived opposite the castle of Clifton-hall, which is about half a league from Penrith, halted, as soon as they saw our army drawn up in order of battle. They then entered the inclosures of the castle, which were defended by thorn hedges; and, having dismounted, formed themselves in battle order, in front of our army, which was upon a heath. The hedges separated the two armies, which were within a musket shot of each other.

Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, who was at the head of our army, having passed the bridge, after it had quitted the position taken by it, to wait for us and assist us, was the first to join Lord George with his regiment of Camerons, and rescue him and the Macdonalds of Glengary from the English cavalry. The sun was setting when our detachments formed a junction with the army. The Highlanders immediately ran to the inclosures where the English were, fell down on their knees, and began to cut down the thorn hedges with their dirks; a necessary precaution, as they wore no breeches, but only a sort of petticoat, which reached to their knees. During this operation, they received the fire of the English with the most admirable firmness and constancy; and, as soon as the hedge was cut down, they jumped into the inclosures, sword in hand, and, with an inconceivable intrepidity, broke the English battalions, who suffered so much the more as they did not turn their backs, as at the battle of Gladsmuir, but allowed themselves to be cut to pieces without quitting their ground. Platoons of forty and fifty men might be seen falling all at once under the swords of the Highlanders; yet they still remained firm, and closed up their ranks, as soon as an opening was made through them by the sword. At length, however, the Highlanders forced them to give way, and pursued them across three inclosures, to a heath, which lay behind them. The only prisoner they took was the Duke of Cumberland's footman, who declared, that his master would have been killed, if the pistol, with which a Highlander took aim at his head, had not missed fire. The Prince had the politeness to send him back instantly to his master. We could not ascertain the loss of the English, in this affair, which some estimated as high as six hundred men. We only lost a dozen Highlanders; who

after traversing the inclosures, continued the pursuit with too much ardour along the heath. *

Our army did not withdraw from Clifton-hall till some hours

* This is the moor where the chieftain of Glenaquoich is represented, in Waverley, to have been made a prisoner. "Mingling with the dismounted dragoons, they forced them, at the sword point, to fly to the open moor, where a considerable number were cut to pieces. But the moon, which suddenly shone out, showed to the English the small number of assailants, disordered by their own success. Two squadrons of horse moving to the support of their companions, the Highlanders endeavoured to recover the inclosures. But several of them, amongst others their brave chieftain, were cut off, and surrounded before they could effect their purpose."

In the account of this affair, circulated by the Duke of Cumberland and his officers, the Highlanders were represented to have been driven from their ground with great loss, and only saved from destruction by the darkness of the night; and stories were told of countrymen having seen numbers of dead bodies of rebels thrown into rivers. We wish we could exculpate the Duke from having countenanced fabrications like these, which history rejects with indignation. So many accounts of this affair have been given by Jacobite gentlemen, who, whatever their political principles, were men of most unsullied honour and probity, in which the royal army is uniformly reported to have been repulsed with considerable loss, that we can have no hesitation in branding the former accounts with the character of falsehood.

Mr. Home, who would not state what he knew to be untrue, but who wished at the same time to say nothing unpalatable to the reigning family, to some of the members of which his work *was submitted in manuscript*, for their approbation, adopts the rebel version of this affair, and observes in a note: "Such is the account of the skirmish at Clifton, given by Lord George Murray, who in his Memoirs says, that he has been more particular in his account of this little skirmish, because he observed that it was differently related in the English newspapers." This indirect censure, from so cautious a writer as Mr. Home, speaks volumes.

We may remark that the author has confounded Cameron of Lochiel with M'Pherson of Clunie, (who, in a letter preserved in Mr. Home's work, states the number of *killed* on the part of the enemy at 150.) We may also observe that he seems also to have been under some misapprehension with respect to the army of Marshal Wade, which (with the exception of the body of dragoons, under General Oglethorpe, detached to the assistance of the Duke of Cumberland) was always at a great distance from the retreating rebel army. But on this subject we have entered more fully in a subsequent note.

after the night had set in; but our artillery was sent off in the beginning of the action, with orders to continue to advance to Carlisle, without stopping at Penrith. We learned, from the footman, that the Duke of Cumberland, having given all his trumpeters and kettle-drummers to the light horse, had hoped to retard the march of our detachment, with the artillery; and if we had been in any manner the dupes of this artifice, we should have been all destroyed; for, in half an hour, the Duke would have got between us and our army, and our communication would thus have been cut off.

As we very much dreaded the junction of Marshal Wade with these four thousand men, whom the Duke of Cumberland had brought with him to Clifton-hall, by forced marches, to harass us in our retreat; as well as the arrival of the rest of his army, which he had left behind him, we marched all night, and arrived at Carlisle about seven o'clock in the morning of the 19th of December. Next morning, before the break of day, we quitted Carlisle, where the Prince left the unfortunate Mr. Townly, with the English regiment raised at Manchester, in the command of the town; and Mr. Hamilton, with some companies of the regiment of the Duke of Perth, in the command of the castle. The Prince promised to return to their assistance in the course of a few days, though this appeared to be morally impossible, as we ourselves were obliged to make every effort to escape from the whole of the forces of England, which were on the point of forming a junction.

I could never comprehend the reason for voluntarily sacrificing these unfortunate victims, left by us at Carlisle. The Prince was not overburdened with men; and it could not be supposed that they would be able to defend themselves, in such an indefensible place, against the united forces of the Duke of Cumber-

land and Marshal Wade, possessed of a numerous artillery. It was well known that we had taken it with the utmost facility, on our entering England. It was not in a condition to resist a cannonade of four hours, being utterly untenable, and a thousand times worse than an intrenched camp in an open country. Besides, it could not be supposed that the Duke of Cumberland would neglect to lay siege to it without delay; and, as Lord John Drummond had not marched to join us, we were obliged to retreat into the heart of Scotland to join him. Some pretended that policy dictated the abandonment of this unfortunate garrison, as a bait to amuse the Duke of Cumberland, and prevent him from pursuing us closely, that we might have time to retreat at our ease, without being disturbed by the English armies. Others were of opinion, that the measure originated in a spirit of vengeance * against the English nation, as no one of all the

* Although we have no very high opinion of the morality or politics of Prince Charles, yet, without very strong evidence indeed, we should hesitate to charge him with so black a crime. We have obtained a knowledge of his public and private life through channels hitherto unknown; and though we have found evidences of ingratitude, passion, irresolution, and an ignorance of the progress of opinion, on the subject of religion and government, yet we saw nothing to induce us to suppose he could be guilty of so infamous an act.

We have had ocular demonstration, from the archives of the Stuart family, lately discovered at Rome, by Mr. Watson of Elgin, and now in possession of His Majesty, that he was first invited into Great Britain, and then abandoned to his fate, by a great part of the English aristocracy. This fact cannot be denied, as there is evidence of it in their own hand-writing. These archives, which consist of more than half a million of documents, equally curious and instructive, and which throw so much additional light on the religion, politics, and morals of almost every nation in Europe, during one of the most interesting periods of modern times, leave no doubt as to the truth of what a perusal of the Selection from the Culloden papers, published in 1815, led us strongly to suspect, that the project of the Pretender was not so wild as, since the result, it has usually been pronounced; and that the conduct of the Highland chiefs, who staked their lives and properties upon the issue, though

persons of distinction, in England, who invited the Prince to make a descent in Great Britain, had declared themselves openly in his favour, by attaching their fortunes to his as the Scots had done.

It would seem that our audacity and temerity had confounded those English generals who were most distinguished for their talents, capacity, and experience, in military affairs, and completely deprived them of all presence of mind. The conduct of Marshal Wade is incomprehensible; he had only to perform a march of ten or twelve leagues, the distance from Newcastle to Carlisle, to cut off our retreat to Scotland, whilst, when our return was decided on at Derby, we were nearly one hundred leagues from Carlisle; and yet, notwithstanding the repeated orders which he received from the Duke of Cumberland to that effect, and the vast disproportion between his march and that which we were necessarily obliged to perform, he was too late by

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certainly bold, was not so imprudent as it might at first sight appear to be. Having, however, surmounted the greatest danger, to which every enterprise of that nature is exposed, namely the danger of being crushed in the outset, they could hardly anticipate, when they advanced into England, that the powerful party which had promised to join them, would, when the risk was so much less, be so much more regardless of their word than they themselves had been. But the disappointment, and consequent irritation, however great, though it might, after the complete failure, lead the Prince to expose those who had abandoned him, (and we learn from Dr. King, that the alarm on this account was, at one time, very great in England among "all those persons of distinction who were attached to him,") would hardly lead either the Prince or the chiefs to select, as objects of their vengeance, those Englishmen who had actually joined the rebel army. Besides, it appears from the list of the prisoners taken at Carlisle, that the number of English was only 114, and the number of Scots 274; and the desire of vengeance against the English could hardly be so intense, as to induce Charles and his chiefs to sacrifice more than twice the number of Scots for its gratification in this case.

several hours in reaching Kendal, to be able to throw himself between us and Scotland.* Every man in our army was of opinion, from the position of General Wade, that there was no possibility of our leaving England without giving him battle, a circumstance which would not have displeased the Highlanders, in the excellent disposition for fighting in which they were; but even a victory would then have been of no great utility to us, and would have led to nothing, as in England it would not have augmented the number of our army, and this was our principal object, in order to give it a more respectable appearance.

We left Carlisle on the 20th of December, at three o'clock in

* The distance from Newcastle to Carlisle is, as we have already stated, about 60 miles; and the distance from Derby to Carlisle a little more than 170; so that the former, compared with the latter, is not as 10 or 12 to 100, but something more than as 1 to 3. But Marshal Wade, when he received intelligence of the retreat, was not at Newcastle but at Ferrybridge, in Yorkshire, where he held a council of war on the 8th of December, to consider of the most effectual means for cutting off the retreat of the rebels. Having determined on marching, with all speed, into Lancashire, to intercept them, he reached Wakefield on the 10th, a distance of 11 miles from Ferrybridge, where having learned the rebels were already at Wigan, he very prudently decided on returning to his old position at Newcastle; after detaching General Oglethorpe, with the cavalry, in pursuit of them, who arrived at Preston on the 13th, nearly at the same time with the Duke of Cumberland. The distance from Wakefield to Preston is somewhat less than 60 miles; and, at the rate at which the Marshal marched from Ferrybridge to Wakefield, he would have reached Preston on the 22d or 23d; two or three days after the rebels had entered Scotland! Such were the leaders, and such was the organization of the armies of England in those days! And yet the English troops were then accounted among the best in Europe! The march of the Highlanders from Derby to Carlisle, 170 miles in 14 days, though a gigantic effort when compared with the movements of the English army, was surpassed by Frederick of Prussia twelve years afterwards; who, in the same season of the year, marched from Leipsic to the Oder, an equal distance, in twelve days; and at the termination of his march attacked, with 33,000 Prussians, an army of 90,000 Austrians, which he defeated on the plain of Leuthen, on the 5th of December, 1757.

the morning, and arrived on the banks of the river Esk, which separates Scotland from England, about two o'clock in the afternoon. This river, which is usually shallow, had been swelled by an incessant rain of several days, to a depth of four feet. However, we were obliged to cross it immediately, lest a continuation of the rain, during the night, should render the passage altogether impracticable. Our position was become extremely critical. We had not only to encounter all the English troops, but likewise the Hessians and Swiss, with six thousand Dutch, of the garrisons of Dendermonde and Tournay, who had been landed in England.

Nothing could be better arranged than the passage of the river. Our cavalry formed in the river to break the force of the current, about twenty-five paces above that part of the ford where our infantry were to pass; and the Highlanders formed themselves into ranks of ten or twelve a-breast, with their arms locked in such a manner as to support one another against the rapidity of the river, leaving sufficient intervals, between their ranks, for the passage of the water. Cavalry were likewise stationed in the river, below the ford, to pick up and save those who might be carried away by the violence of the current. The interval between the cavalry appeared like a paved street through the river, the heads of the Highlanders being generally all that was seen above the water. By means of this contrivance, our army passed the Esk in an hour's time, without losing a single man; and a few girls, determined to share the fortune of their lovers, were the only persons who were carried away by the rapidity of the stream. Fires were kindled to dry our people as soon as they quitted the water; and the bagpipers having commenced playing, the Highlanders began all to dance, expressing

the utmost joy on seeing their country again; and forgetting the chagrin which had incessantly devoured them, and which they had continually nourished ever since their departure from Derby.

We entered England on the 8th of November, and left it on the 20th of December, the birth-day of the Prince, without losing more than forty men, either from sickness or marauding, including the twelve at the affair of Clifton-hall. Our stragglers seldom failed to be attacked by the English peasants, who were all implacable enemies of the Prince, but too cowardly to dare to take up arms against us, though the different provinces, through which we passed, might have easily formed an army of a hundred thousand men to oppose us. They were deficient neither in hatred towards us, nor in the wish to injure us; but they wanted courage and resolution to expose themselves to the swords of the Highlanders.

The terror of the English was truly inconceivable, and in many cases they seemed quite bereft of their senses. One evening, as Mr. Cameron of Lochiel entered the lodgings assigned to him, his landlady, an old woman, threw herself at his feet, and, with uplifted hands, and tears in her eyes, supplicated him to take her life, but to spare her two little children. He asked her if she was in her senses, and told her to explain herself; when she answered that every body said the Highlanders ate children, and made them their common food. Mr. Cameron having assured her that they would not injure either her or her little children, or any person whatever, she looked at him for some moments with an air of surprise, and then opened a press, calling out with a loud voice, "Come out, children; the gentleman will not eat you." The

children immediately left the press, where she had concealed them, and threw themselves at his feet.

They affirmed in the newspapers of London, that we had dogs in our army trained to fight; and that we were indebted, for our victory at Gladsmuir, to these dogs, who darted with fury on the English army. They represented the Highlanders as monsters, with claws instead of hands. In a word they never ceased to circulate, every day, the most extravagant and ridiculous stories with respect to the Highlanders. The English soldiers, indeed, had reason to look upon us as extraordinary men, from the manner in which we had beaten them with such inferior numbers; and they probably told these idle stories to the country people, by way of palliating their own disgrace: the men again, in repeating these stories to their wives, improved, no doubt, on the exaggerations of the soldiers, till, passing from mouth to mouth, the original falsehoods became at length so absurd, that none but English peasants, the most stupid and credulous of mortals, would listen to them. But, indeed, there is nothing so absurd that the English will not readily believe it. A better proof of this cannot be given than what took place when I was in London. A man advertised that he would, in the Haymarket Theatre, enter a pint bottle. The price of admission was half-a-crown; and the Duke of Cumberland, who was one of the crowd that flocked to see this miracle, lost his sword in the throng. But the actor, who had more sense than they, after appearing in the theatre to request an additional quarter of an hour before commencing his operations, contrived, in the mean time, to escape, with a few hundred guineas which he had taken at the door, leaving them to cool their heels till his return to perform his promise, and treating them as such a set of

fools ought to be treated. After this instance of credulity, their folly and extravagance ought not to surprise us.

As soon as we had passed the river, the Prince formed our army into two columns; one of which took the road by Ecclefechan, conducted by the Prince in person; and the other, under the orders of Lord George Murray, took the road that leads to Annan. Lord Elcho, with the cavalry, went straight to Dumfries, a considerable town, full of fanatical Calvinists, who had seized some of our ammunition waggons, when we entered England. * We punished the inhabitants by levying a considerable fine on them. As there is no town nearer than eight or ten miles from the ford of the Esk, we were obliged to march all night, though it had never ceased raining since the affair at Clifton-hall. Highlanders alone could have stood a march of two nights of continual rain in the midst of winter, and drenched as they were in crossing the river; but they were inured to fatigue, and of a strong and vigorous constitution, frequently marching six or seven leagues a-day, our ordinary marches in England, without leaving any stragglers behind; and they might even have destroyed an army of a hundred thousand regular troops, by marching alone, had they persisted in

* Lord Milton, in a letter to the Duke of Argyle, dated 21st of November, 1745, says, — "Besides great quantities of arms and ammunition, the rebels found at Carlisle about eighty horses, well accoutred, and upon these so many rebels marched immediately to Dumfries, to levy money, as the value of about fifty or sixty cart loads of provisions and baggage, which, for want of horses, were left by them on the road, and carried *by a party of the Seceders* to Dumfries. I hope the seceders, who are pretty numerous in that country, and very loyal and zealous, may come to give a good account of these eighty horsemen." It is well known that the Presbyterians were determined enemies of the House of Stuart, and the *Seceders*, being the most rigid Presbyterians, were of course the most zealously attached to the House of Hanover.

continually following us. The principal object in the disposition of our marches, was to keep the English always in a state of uncertainty with regard to our movements, the towns to which we intended to go, and the roads we meant to take. Continually baffled by our manœuvres, they were obliged to remain inactive till they could learn our real object, by the reunion of our columns, by which they lost a great deal of time.

The column led by Lord George, arrived next morning at Annan, where it reposed during the 22d. On the 23d it reached Moffat. On the 24th, it abandoned the road it had hitherto followed, which goes directly to Edinburgh, and took a cross-road to the left, for Glasgow, where it formed a junction with the column of the Prince on the 26th. The latter column slept at Ecclefechan on the 21st; on the 22d at Dumfries; and on the 23d advanced straight to Glasgow. Lord Elcho, with the cavalry, reached that city on the 25th, the day before the arrival of the two columns. The Duke of Cumberland, unable from our movements to conjecture what our intentions were, ceased to follow us; and the two English armies took up their quarters at Carlisle.

Messrs. Brown and Gordon, two officers in the service of France, who had been left at Carlisle, joined us on our arrival at Glasgow; and informed the Prince, that the town and castle were taken by the Duke of Cumberland, two days after our *departure, being totally incapable of resisting, for twenty-four hours, the heavy artillery of the enemy; that, by the capitulation, the Duke

* The Duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle on the 21st of December; but being under the necessity of sending to Whitehaven for heavy cannon, the fire from his batteries did not commence till the morning of the 28th. On the 30th the garrison surrendered.

of Cumberland had granted to the garrison their lives, with an assurance that they should not be tried for having borne * arms. They added, in their declaration, that they only escaped from Carlisle the moment the capitulation was signed. The army of the Duke of Cumberland was, they said, composed of the infantry regiments of Ligonier, Richmond, Sinclair, Albemarle, Howard, Skelton, Bland Sempill, Bligh, Douglas, Leslie, Bernard, Roper, Sowle, Johnson, Gower, Montague, Halifax, Granby, and Cholmondeley; of the cavalry regiments of Montague and Kingston, (the regiments of Cholmondeley, Montague, and Kingston, being newly raised;) and a body of a thousand

* The written communications between the besieged and the besiegers sufficiently prove the terms of the capitulation.

The first communication was a message from a M. de Geoghegan, the commander of the French artillery, on the 29th, summoning the commander of the Dutch to retire with his troops from the English army, agreeably to the capitulation of Tournay and Dendermonde. The Duke of Cumberland, in a message, signed by Colonel Conway, his aide-de-camp, gave orders "to let the French officer know, if there is one in town, that there are no Dutch troops here, but enough of the King's troops to chastise the rebels, and those who dare give them any assistance." John Hamilton, the governor of the castle, in answer to this message, desired "to know what terms his Royal Highness would be pleased to give them." The return to this application was, "All the terms His Royal Highness will or can grant to the rebel garrison at Carlisle, are that they *shall* not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the King's pleasure." These terms were accepted; the governor and officers merely recommending themselves to His Royal Highness's clemency; and hoping "that his Royal Highness will be pleased to interpose for them with His Majesty."

As the Dutch troops were included in a body of foot, detached by Marshal Wade to the assistance of the Duke of Cumberland, at Carlisle, his statement respecting them was a palpable equivocation; and his threat to the French officer is conceived in a stile of which we are no great admirers; but this is the extent of the objectionable part of his conduct on this occasion, for there seems no foundation whatever for any charge of breach of faith.

horse, detached from the army of Marshal Wade, under the command of General Oglethorpe. There were, besides, six thousand Dutch. Each infantry regiment was 824 men strong; and the cavalry regiments consisted of 273 men. The Chevalier Francis Geoghegan, a colonel of the artillery attached to Lally's regiment, an officer of talents and merit, who had been left sick at Carlisle, sent a trumpeter, with a letter to the commander-in-chief of the Dutch troops, ordering him, in the name of the King of France, to retire, in consequence of the capitulation of Tournay and Dendermonde. He immediately obeyed; but the diminution of the combined army was of no use to the besieged.

The garrison of Carlisle was confined in the prisons of London; and the Duke of Cumberland, on his arrival there, on the 5th of January, had so little regard for good faith as to maintain that they were not bound in honour to observe a capitulation with rebels. Thus twelve of the unfortunate officers of the English regiment, with Messieurs Townley and Hamilton at their head, were afterwards hanged and quartered in London; and the head of Townley still remains exposed on Temple-bar, one of the gates of the city.

The Prince at first seemed inclined to disbelieve the report of Messrs. Gordon and Brown, and some even accused them of falsehood; but those who had any knowledge of fortification were disposed to believe them. Had the Prince foreseen the fate of these unfortunate victims, he would undoubtedly have prevented it, by evacuating the place on our retreat: the only plan reconcileable, not merely with humanity towards those who had exposed their lives and fortunes in his cause, but with a regard to his own particular interest; as he had not a superfluity

of men in his army. We must draw a veil over this piece of cruelty, being altogether unable either to discover the motive for leaving these 400 men at Carlisle, or to find an excuse for it.

Glasgow is the second city in Scotland, from the number of its inhabitants, and the extent of its commerce. Our army was allowed to remain there, to recover from its fatigues, till the 2d of January, when we quitted it in two columns; one of which took the rout to Cumbernauld, where it passed the night, whilst the other went to Kilsyth. By this movement the Prince, according to every appearance, seemed to entertain the intention of proceeding to Edinburgh, especially as Lord Elcho, with the cavalry, had advanced as far as the town of Falkirk, which is only about five leagues distance from it. * But the column which had passed the night at Kilsyth, quitted the Edinburgh road next morning; and, falling back upon its left, the two columns met in the evening, at the village of Bannockburn, about half a league from Stirling. †

The object of the Prince, in approaching Stirling, was to accelerate his junction with Lord John Drummond, whom he had ordered to repair to Alloa, with the three thousand men under his command, and the artillery and military stores, which he had brought from France. The town of Stirling, protected by the castle, in which there was a strong garrison, commanded by General Blakeney, the governor, having refused to surrender, the Prince, on the 4th of January, ordered a part of his army to occupy the villages of St. Dennis and St. Ninians, which are within cannon-shot of the town, on the south. By this position

* Falkirk is 24 miles from Edinburgh.

† Bannockburn is about four miles from Stirling.

it was blockaded and invested on every side; the stone bridge, to the north of the town, having been broken down when General Cope was there with his army.

On our reaching Bannockburn, Lord George Murray, who took the charge of every thing, and attended to every thing, repaired immediately to Alloa, where Lord John Drummond had already arrived, in order to take measures for the speedy advance to Stirling of the troops and artillery, brought by Lord John from France; and after giving the necessary directions for the conveyance of the guns, he returned, next day, to Bannockburn. He then put himself at the head of eleven hundred men, and stationed himself with them as a fixed post at Falkirk, a town about sixteen miles from Edinburgh, and four from Bannockburn. * Lord Elcho, with the cavalry, occupied the town of Linlithgow, which is about twelve miles from Edinburgh and six from Falkirk. † The rest of our army was quartered in the villages of St. Dennis and St. Ninians, and at Bannockburn, two miles from Stirling, where the Prince had his headquarters.

Lord John Drummond immediately repaired to Bannockburn, with his regiment of Royal Scots, and five piquets of the Irish brigade; as also with Lord Lewis Gordon, and six hundred vassals of his brother, the Duke of Gordon; Mr. Fraser, the eldest son of Lord Lovat, and six hundred of his father's vassals; the Earl of Cromarty, his eldest son Lord Macleod, and his vassals, the Mackenzies. The Prince was then joined by many other Highlanders of the clans of Mackintosh and Farquharson: so that by this reinforcement our army was suddenly increased to eight

* Scots miles.

† Linlithgow is 16 miles from Edinburgh, and eight from Falkirk.

thousand men, the double of what it was when we were in England. *

What a pity that the Prince had not these eight thousand men at Derby! They would have succeeded in crowning him at London. If he could only have restrained his impatience, and remained in Scotland till his partisans had had time to join him at Edinburgh, from the most remote provinces of Scotland, he might, then, after his affairs had been firmly established in that country, have made an attempt on England. It would appear, that the difficulty of transporting the six pieces of cannon sent from France, and the fear of their falling into the hands of the English, detained Lord John Drummond in Scotland.

The importance commonly attached to artillery, their supposed utility on all occasions, and indeed the absolute necessity for them, are greatly over-rated; and I do not doubt, but that, in the course of time, an army will think itself lost, if it has not these enormous masses to drag after it, the occasion of so much embarrassment; just in the same manner as infantry have been taught to tremble for their safety, unless they have cavalry to protect their flanks. The Highlanders, however, entertain a sovereign contempt for cavalry, from the facility with which they have always defeated them; throwing them into disorder in an instant, by striking at the heads of the horses in the manner I have already mentioned.

The greater part of mankind blindly adopt general principles, without examining or enquiring into the propriety of their ap-

* Mr. Home makes the rebel army, at this time, somewhat more than 9000 men. The Prince had been joined by 4000 men under Lord John Drummond. M. Patullo, the rebel muster-master, says "at the battle of Falkirk there were 8000 men, besides about 1000 left to continue the blockade of Stirling Castle."

plication to particular cases. In the present state of things, it is certainly necessary for an army of regular troops to have a numerous artillery. The sword has been laid aside for the musket, and it appears, from the victories obtained in the late war, almost entirely by a great superiority of artillery, that it is wished to lay aside the musket for cannon; adopting the maxim for armies, which is only applicable to fortified places, viz. that the fire of the more powerful artillery will silence that of the weaker. I know not whether this new inclination be well or ill founded; but I am very certain, that our artillery was very troublesome, and even very injurious to us. A regular army has occasion for artillery to reduce the fortified places, which occur at every step, on the ordinary theatres of the wars which have been carried on in Europe for centuries past; but, in Great Britain, there are no fortified towns; in Scotland there are only the two castles of Stirling and Edinburgh, which are situated upon the summits of steep rocks, of so great an elevation, that no ground can be found in their neighbourhood parallel to them for the establishment of a battery, capable of producing any effect. It is only by mortars or by famine that they can be reduced.

It is surprising that the court of France should have been so little acquainted with the local peculiarities of Scotland, as to send us cannons insteads of mortars, of which we had need for carrying on sieges. The field-pieces, taken at the battle of Gladsmuir, were sufficient to force houses and petty fortresses. Artillery, instead of being useful, was, on the contrary, a great embarrassment to us by continually retarding our marches. Indeed, all kinds of fire-arms are directly at variance with the natural disposition of the Highlanders, who are quick, ardent, and impetuous in their attack. The sword is the weapon which

suits them best. When they are kept passive they lose their ardour.

On all occasions it is necessary to consult the genius of those whom we command, and to conform ourselves to their particular habits. If we had remained firing at a certain distance, instead of rushing impetuously upon the enemy, two thousand regular troops, regularly trained to fire, and unaccustomed to the sword, would have beaten four thousand Highlanders with ease. Their manner of fighting is adapted for brave, but undisciplined men. They advance with rapidity, discharge their pieces when within musket-length of the enemy, and then, throwing them down, draw their swords, and holding a dirk in their left hand with their target, they dart with fury on the enemy, through the smoke of their fire. When within reach of the enemy's bayonets, bending their left knee, they, by their attitude, cover their bodies with their targets, that receive the thrusts of the bayonets, which they contrive to parry, while at the same time they raise their sword-arm, and strike their adversary. Having once got within the bayonets, and into the ranks of the enemy, the soldiers have no longer any means of defending themselves, the fate of the battle is decided in an instant, and the carnage follows; the Highlanders bringing down two men at a time, one with their dirk in the left hand, and another with the sword.

The reason assigned by the Highlanders for their custom of throwing their muskets on the ground, is not without its force. They say, they embarrass them in their operations, even when slung behind them, and, on gaining a battle, they can pick them up again along with the arms of their enemies; but, if they should be beaten, they have no occasion for muskets. They proved that bravery may supply the place of discipline at times, as discipline

supplies the place of bravery. Their attack is so terrible, that the best troops in Europe would with difficulty sustain the first shock of it; and if the swords of the Highlanders once come in contact with them, their defeat is inevitable. *

On the 6th of January, we opened the trenches before the town of Stirling, under the direction of Mr. Grant; but the mere threat of laying siege to the town, induced the magistrates to repair to Bannockburn and propose a capitulation; and the Prince having granted them the conditions which they required, we took possession of Stirling next day. The castle was not included in the surrender. General Blakeney answered very politely to the summons of the Prince, "That His Royal Highness must assuredly have a very bad opinion of him, were he capable of surrendering the castle in such a cowardly manner."

An army of about thirteen thousand men, composed of the best troops of the armies of the Duke of Cumberland and Marshal Wade, entered Scotland, under the command of Lieutenant-

* Many of the author's observations, with respect to artillery, are certainly just; and his description of the mode of fighting of the Highlanders, is the most distinct and satisfactory which we have ever seen.

It is observed by Machiavel, in his Art of War, that artillery is of little importance to an army, as if the enemy is stronger in other respects he can easily take it. But the improvements in artillery, since his time, have materially changed the state of the question. A well-served artillery has soon decided some of the most important battles of late times.

Besides, the invention of horse-artillery has been found of great advantage, against an irregular force like that of the Highlanders in 1745. Of this our recent Indian campaigns furnish abundant proofs.

The observations of the author, however, with respect to the absurdity of a rigid adherence to one particular mode of fighting, without regard to circumstances, are perfectly just. It was this species of military pedantry which destroyed a British army at New Orleans, in an attempt which, against European troops, would, in all probability, have been attended with complete success.

general Hawley. The first division, under General Husk, reached Edinburgh, on the 4th of January, and General Hawley himself arrived there on the 6th. The whole of General Hawley's army having assembled in Edinburgh, General Husk was detached to Linlithgow on the 13th, with the five old regiments of Monro, Cholmondeley, Price, Ligonier, and Battereau, and the remains of the two dragoon regiments of Hamilton and Gardener, which had escaped from the battle of Gladsmuir, and entered that small town at one end, whilst Lord Elcho, with our cavalry, went out at the other, to fall back on Lord George Murray, at Falkirk. On the 14th, the regiments of Howard, Pulteney, and Barrel, marched to Borrowstownness, which is half-way between Edinburgh and Linlithgow *: and they were followed, on the 15th, by the regiments of Fleming, and Blakeney, and a battalion of the regiment of Sinclair. On the 16th, General Hawley encamped with his army, and a train of ten field-pieces, at Falkirk; and Lord George Murray fell back, at his approach, on Bannockburn, with the detachment of which he had had for some time the command at Falkirk.

M. Mirabelle de Gordon, a French engineer, and chevalier of the order of St. Louis, was sent into Scotland, with Lord John Drummond, and arrived at Stirling on the 6th. Great hopes were at first entertained of his being able to reduce the Castle, which was the cause of much chagrin to the Highlanders, by annoying them in their going to and returning from their own country. It was supposed that a French engineer, of a certain age, and decorated with an order, must necessarily be a person of experience, talents, and capacity; but it was unfortunately discovered, when

* Borrowstownness is 18 miles west from Edinburgh, and only 3 miles north from Stirling. The author must have meant Stirling.

too late, that his knowledge as an engineer was extremely limited, and that he was totally destitute of judgment, discernment, and common sense. His figure being as whimsical as his mind, the Highlanders, instead of M. Mirabelle, called him always Mr. Admirable.

Mr. Grant had already communicated to the Prince a plan of attack of the castle, which was to open the trenches, and establish batteries in the burying-ground, on that side of the town which is opposite to the castle gate. He assured the Prince, that this was the only place where they could find a parallel, almost on a level with the batteries of the enemy; and that, if a breach were effected in the half-moon which defends the entry of the castle, from a battery in the burying-ground, the rubbish of the work would fill the ditch, and render an assault practicable through the breach, and the works would be ruined near the gate. He added, that it was entirely useless to think of making an attack, in any other place, from the impossibility of succeeding; that the hills in the neighbourhood of the castle being forty or fifty feet lower than the castle itself, our batteries could produce little or no effect, whilst their batteries would command ours. Besides, supposing it even possible to effect a breach on that side, we could never mount to the assault; the rock, on which the castle is built, being every where very high, and almost perpendicular, except towards that part of the town opposite to the burying-ground.

The inhabitants of Stirling having remonstrated with the Prince against this plan, as by the erection of our batteries in the burying-ground, the fire from the castle would, they said, reduce their town to ashes, he consulted M. Mirabelle, with a view to ascertain whether there were any other means of taking the castle by

attack than that in question; and as it is always the distinctive mark of ignorance to find nothing difficult, not even the things that are impossible, M. Mirabelle, without hesitation, immediately undertook to open the trenches on a hill to the north of the castle, where there were not fifteen inches depth of earth above the solid rock; and it became necessary to supply the want of earth with bags of wool, and sacks filled with earth, brought from a distance. Thus the trenches were so bad, that we lost a great many men, sometimes twenty-five in one day. The six pieces of artillery sent from France, two of which were eighteen, two twelve, and two six pounders, arrived at Stirling on the 14th.

In the evening of the 16th, the Prince gave orders for collecting together the whole army, to be reviewed next morning at break of day, on a moor to the east of Bannockburn; and nobody supposed that there was any other object in this general review than to choose a field of battle, and obtain the necessary information respecting the nature of the ground; which was the more essentially necessary, as the English army, then encamped at Falkirk, were expected every moment to attack us. When the review was over, about ten o'clock in the morning, he made the army face to the right, to form a column, and immediately turned off in that direction, by bye-roads, without any person in the army being able to penetrate his design; particularly as he did not appear at first to take the roads leading towards the English army. The Highlanders had a very simple manœuvre, well suited to a small army composed of undisciplined men. They formed themselves in line, three deep, and by facing to the right or to the left they formed themselves into a column for marching, of three men in front; and, in the same manner, by facing to

the right or to the left, they were instantly in order of battle. It was deemed more advisable to allow them to adhere to their ancient and simple manœuvre, than to teach them, imperfectly, the more complicated movements of wheeling backwards to form columns of division, sub-division, &c. and forwards to form into line, which could not have been executed without disorder and confusion; for it is not in the moment of action, that attempts should be made to discipline troops, and change their old habits. This ought to be the work of time, and only attempted in a period of peace.

Our army marched across the fields, and by bye-roads, to Dunipace, leaving the highway from Stirling to Falkirk at a considerable distance on our left, and making a great circuit to conceal our movement from the enemy. Having passed through the village of Dunipace *, which is about a quarter of a league from Falkirk, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we suddenly found ourselves upon the heights near that town, in sight of the English army, and within nine hundred yards of their camp, before General Hawley knew of our departure from Bannockburn. † Their surprise on seeing us may easily be conceived. They immediately flew to arms, and, with great precipitation, ascended to a part of the height, between us and the town of Falkirk. There was a high

* Dunipace is about three miles and a half from Falkirk.

† General Hawley was at Callender-house when the rebels were first seen, a little before *one* o'clock, by two officers of the third regiment of foot, who climbed a tree near the camp, and, by means of a telescope, discovered the Highland army marching; by the south side of the Torwood, towards Falkirk. When information of this was conveyed to the General, he said that the men might put on their accoutrements, but there was no necessity for them to be under arms. The royal army was in the greatest alarm on account of the absence of the General at this critical conjuncture.

wind, accompanied by a heavy rain, which the Highlanders, by their position, had in their back; whilst it was full in the face of the English, who were blinded by it. They were, besides, incommoded with the smoke of our discharge; and the rain, getting into their pans, rendered the half of their muskets useless. The English fruitlessly attempted to gain the advantage of the wind; but the Prince, extending to the left, took care to preserve this advantage by corresponding movements on his part.

General Hawley drew up his army in order of battle, in two lines, having three regiments of infantry in a hollow at the foot of the hill. His cavalry was placed, before his infantry, on the left wing of the first line. The English began the attack, with a body of about eleven hundred cavalry, who advanced very slowly against the right of our army, and did not halt till they were within twenty paces of our first line, to induce us to fire. The Highlanders, who had been particularly enjoined not to fire till the army was within musket-length of them, the moment the cavalry halted discharged their muskets, and killed about eighty men, each of them having aimed at a rider. The commander of this body of cavalry, who had advanced some paces before his men, was of the number. The cavalry closing their ranks, which were opened by our discharge, put spurs to their horses, and rushed upon the Highlanders at a hard trot, breaking their ranks, throwing down every thing before them, and trampling the Highlanders under the feet of their horses. The most singular and extraordinary combat immediately followed. The Highlanders, stretched on the ground, thrust their dirks into the bellies of the horses. Some seized the riders by their clothes, dragged them down, and stabbed them with their dirks; several again used their pistols; but few of them

had sufficient space to handle their swords. Macdonald of Clanranald, chief of one of the clans of the Macdonalds, assured me, that whilst he was lying upon the ground, under a dead horse, which had fallen upon him, without the power of extricating himself, he saw a dismounted horseman struggling with a Highlander: fortunately for him, the Highlander, being the strongest, threw his antagonist, and having killed him with his dirk, he came to his assistance, and drew him with difficulty from under his horse.

The resistance of the Highlanders was so incredibly obstinate, that the English, after having been for some time engaged pell-mell with them in their ranks, were at length repulsed, and forced to retire. The Highlanders did not neglect the advantage they had obtained, but pursued them keenly with their swords, running as fast as their horses, and not allowing them a moment's time to recover from their fright. So that the English cavalry falling back on their own infantry, drawn up in order of battle behind them, threw them immediately into disorder, and carried the right wing of their army with them in their flight. * The

* Mr. Home, who was himself in this battle, gives a very clear, and very circumstantial account of it. According to this account, which agrees with most of the statements that we have seen, the dragoons of the royal army were thrown into disorder *by the fire* of the rebels, on their first onset. "Lord George Murray," he says, "was marching at the head of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, with his drawn sword in his hand, and his target on his arm. He let the dragoons come within ten or twelve paces of him, and then gave orders to fire. The Macdonalds of Keppoch began the fire, which ran down the line, from them to Lord Lovat's regiment. This heavy fire repulsed the dragoons. Hamilton's and Ligonier's regiments wheeled about, and fled directly back: Cobham's regiment wheeled to the right, and went off between the two armies, receiving a good deal of fire as they passed the left of the rebels. When the dragoons were gone, Lord George Murray ordered the Macdonalds of Keppoch to keep their ranks and stand firm. The

clan of Camerons, which was on the left of our army, having attacked at the same time the right of the English army, where there were only infantry, put it also to flight; but the Highlanders, when descending the hill in pursuit of the enemy, received, on their left flank, a discharge from the three regiments placed in the hollow at the foot of the hill, which they did not perceive till the moment they received their fire, which greatly incommoded them. Mr. John Roy Stuart, an officer in the service of France, afraid lest this might be an ambuscade laid for us by

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same order was sent to the other two Macdonald regiments, but a great part of the men in these two regiments, with all the regiments to the left, (whose fire had repulsed the dragoons,) immediately pursued. When they came near the foot of the King's army, some regiments of the first line gave them a fire; the rebels returned the fire, and throwing down their muskets, drew their swords, and attacked the regiments in the left of the King's army, both in front and flank: all the regiments in the first line of the King's army gave way, as did most of the regiments of the second line. It seemed a total rout; and, for some time, General Hawley did not know that any one regiment of his army was standing; but Barrel's regiment stood, and, joined by part of two regiments of the first line, (Price's and Ligonier's,) moved to their left, till they came directly opposite to the Camerons and Stuarts, and began to fire upon them across the ravine. The Highlanders returned the fire, but the fire of the King's troops was so much superior, that the rebels, after losing a good many men, fell back a little, still keeping the high ground on their side of the ravine. The stand which these regiments made, put a stop to the pursuit, and recalled the pursuers."

Lord George Murray maintained the victory would have been complete, if Lord John Drummond, who should have commanded on the left, had been in his place, when he might have ordered some regiments from the second line to face the regiments on the right of the King's army, who out-flanked the left of the Highlanders; in which case none of the foot could have escaped. Lord John Drummond again and others blamed Lord George for preventing the Macdonalds of Keppoch, and a good many of the other two Macdonald regiments, from advancing with the rest of the Highlanders when they attacked the foot. Sullivan, the adjutant-general, was also blamed for keeping *out of harm's way*.

the English, called out to the Highlanders to stop their pursuit; and the cry of stop flew immediately from rank to rank, and threw the whole army into disorder. However, the enemy continued their retreat, and the three regiments at the foot of the hill followed the rest; but with this difference, that they retreated always in order, and acting as a rear-guard of the English army, and they continued a fire of platoons on us till their entrance into the town of Falkirk.

As night began to appear, the English army entered the town, and fires were immediately seen in every part of their camp, from which we all supposed that they had retreated to it, and that we had not obtained a complete and substantial victory. The honour of remaining masters of the field was of little avail to us. We had no reason for believing that we had lost the battle, as the English army had retreated; but as we supposed them still in their camp, we considered it, at most, as undecided, and expected a renewal of the combat next morning.

Fortunately the enemy did not perceive the disorder which had crept into our army, and of which colonel John Roy Stuart was the innocent cause, by his excessive precaution and foresight. The Highlanders were in complete disorder, dispersed, and the different clans mingled pell-mell together: whilst the obscurity of the night added greatly to the confusion. Many of them had even retired from the field of battle, either thinking it lost, or with the intention of seeking a shelter from the dreadful weather. It is often more dangerous to stop the fire and impetuosity of soldiers, of whom the best are but machines, and still more of undisciplined men, who do not listen to any orders, than to let them run every risk in order to carry every thing before them.

I met, by accident, Colonel Brown, an Irishman, to whom I proposed that we should keep together, and share the same fate. He consented, but observed at the same time, that, the Prince having made him the bearer of an order, he wished to find him, with the view of communicating an answer. After having sought the Prince for a long time to no purpose, and without finding any one who could give us the least information respecting him, we fell in with his life-guards, in order of battle, near a cottage on the edge of the hill, with their commander Lord Elcho, who knew as little of what had become of Charles as we did ourselves. As the night was very dark, and the rain incessant, we resolved to withdraw to the mansion of Mr. Primrose of Dunipace, about a quarter of a league from Falkirk, having a crowd of Highlanders as guides who took the same road.

On our arrival at the castle, we found Lord Lewis Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon, Mr. Frazer, son of Lord Lovat, and six or seven other chiefs of clans; but none of them knew what had become of their regiments. Other officers arrived every instant, all equally ignorant of the fate of the battle, and equally in doubt whether we had gained or lost it. About eight o'clock in the evening, Mr. Macdonald of Lochgary joined us, and revived our spirits, by announcing for certain, that we had gained a most complete victory; and that the English, instead of remaining in their camp, had fled in disorder to Edinburgh. He added, in confirmation of this news, that he had left the Prince in Falkirk, in the quarters which had been occupied by General Hawley; and that the Prince had sent him to Dunipace, for the express purpose of ordering all of us to repair to Falkirk next morning by break of day.

It is impossible, without having been in our situation, to form

an idea of the extreme joy, which we derived from this agreeable surprise. As the enemy, in their retreat, had abandoned all their tents and baggage, their camp was soon pillaged by the Highlanders, and the booty carried away, notwithstanding the obscurity of the night, and the badness of the weather. The enemy lost about six hundred in killed, and we took seven hundred prisoners. It was Lord Kilmarnock who first discovered the flight of the English. Being well acquainted with the nature of the ground, as a part of his estates lay in the neighbourhood, he was sent, by the Prince, to reconnoitre the enemy; and having approached the great road to Edinburgh, beyond the town of Falkirk, passing by bye-paths and across fields, he saw the English army, panic-struck and flying in the greatest disorder, as fast as their legs could carry them. Lord Kilmarnock immediately returned to the Prince, with an account of this fortunate discovery, who still remained on the field of battle, notwithstanding the dreadful wind and rain; but he then descended from the hill, about half past seven o'clock in the evening, immediately entered the town of Falkirk, and detached as many troops as he could suddenly assemble to harass the English in their flight, who were yet at a short distance from us.

The enemy were unable to avail themselves of their artillery during the action, and to carry it with them in their flight; and we found, next day, ten field-pieces *, half-way up the hill, which they had not had time to draw up to the top. They lost a great many men in the hollow at the foot of the hill; where the corn-

* Mr. Home says, the royal army lost seven pieces of cannon.

fields were thickly strewed with dead bodies.* In their flight they took one prisoner in a very singular manner. Mr. Macdonald, a major of one of the Macdonald regiments, having dismounted an English officer, took possession of his horse, which was very beautiful, and immediately mounted it. When the English cavalry fled, the horse ran off with the unfortunate Mr. Macdonald, notwithstanding all his efforts to restrain him; nor did it stop till it was at the head of the regiment, of which, apparently, its master was the commander. The melancholy, and at the same time ludicrous, figure which poor Macdonald would cut, when he thus saw himself the victim of his ambition to possess a fine horse, which ultimately cost him his life upon the scaffold, may be easily conceived.

Had General Hawley possessed sufficient coolness and presence of mind, when he saw our army appear upon the height, to have dispassionately examined the advantages and disadvantages in attacking us immediately; and had he remained in his camp, prepared to defend himself if we attacked him, the Prince would have been dreadfully disconcerted; and I really know not what course we could have adopted. † Our army could not pass the night in

* Mr. Home says, the royal army lost, in killed alone, 1 colonel, 3 lieutenant-colonels, 9 captains, 3 lieutenants, and 3 or 400 private men. The loss of the rebels was said to be 3 captains, 4 subalterns, and 40 men killed, and 80 wounded.

† It is generally allowed that the great blunder of this officer consisted in ordering 700 or 800 dragoons to attack 8000 foot drawn up in two lines. General Hawley, however, entertained an opinion, that the Highlanders were unable to withstand cavalry. In a company in Flanders, in which Lieutenant-colonel Hepburn was present, the General said "*he* knew the Highlanders, they were good militia; but he was certain that they could not stand against a charge of dragoons who attacked them well." The ground for this opinion seems to have been an event, mentioned by Mr. Home, in which the General was himself concerned. He had been major of Evans's dragoons, at the battle of Sheriffmuir, when that regiment, with the

the open air, during such a terrible tempest; and it would have been a sort of victory for General Hawley, if the Prince had been obliged to return by a night-march in such dreadful weather, without effecting his object. But such is the nature of man, that every thing unexpected and unforeseen produces an impression on the mind in proportion to its importance, or the consequences which may result from it. Hence, there are few surprises, judiciously planned and executed, which do not succeed. The perceptions of some men are more keen and quick than those of others; and hence the impressions produced on different men by the same object, depend on the vivacity of their imagination, or the phlegm of their temperament. Some can dive into the most profound and complicated subject in an instant, and see it in its proper light; whilst others are unable to effect a solution of the difficulty, without brooding a long time over the subject, though their judgment and penetration may be equally just and solid; and the parties may differ from one another merely in the slowness or quickness of perception of the matter on which their faculties are employed. Every one must have more or less time to arrest the torrent of new ideas, which crowd on his imagination in a case of exigency, and to fix on the best. In a surprise

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Scots Greys, led by the Duke of Argyle, getting over a morass, which the intense frost of one night had rendered passable, attacked the flank of the rebel army, which conceived itself secure from that quarter, and rode down and drove off the field several regiments of Highlanders. Because the Highlanders were driven off the field by cavalry under peculiar circumstances, he seems to have therefore thought that in no case whatever they could withstand cavalry. Thus the lessons of experience serve often to darken rather than to aid men of weak minds, who, in the language of Burke, view past events "as a repertory of cases and precedents," and not as materials for the exercise of the reasoning faculty.

we must come suddenly to a determination one way or other; for the enemy will not allow us time for reflection: and the quality most essential to a general, is a prompt and just discernment and judgment in his decisions. Boldness may often supply the want of quickness of imagination, and furnish resources in embarrassing circumstances; but an ardent temperament, which is in its place at the head of a regiment of grenadiers, deprives the mind, in a surprise, of the faculty of thinking, and exhibits every object in a false light. Hence surprises are always successful. We do not find a Marshal de Luxembourg twice in a century. When deceived at Steinkirk by his spy, who was secretary to the Prince of Orange, and who told him not to be alarmed at seeing a large body of troops appear next day, as they would only be out on a general foraging, (though this foraging party turned out to be the whole army of the Allies, commanded by the Prince of Orange; for the Prince having discovered the treachery of his secretary, compelled him to write this letter, with a pistol at his breast)—notwithstanding this surprise, the Marshal, who for a long time could not persuade himself that his spy had conveyed false information to him, was yet, notwithstanding, in an instant able to take such judicious measures, that he completely defeated the Prince of Orange. But there are few examples of this presence of mind in history. A truly great warrior will always be master of events, instead of allowing himself to be mastered by them; and when he happens to be surprised himself, he will surprise the enemy.

The bad weather which had been so favourable to us during the battle, and contributed so much to our obtaining the victory, proved very injurious to us afterwards, by preventing us from pursuing the vanquished enemy, and totally dispersing that army

without leaving a vestige of it in Scotland: which would have obtained for us repose and tranquillity for a long time in that country, as this army was composed of old regiments, and the best troops of the English.

The tempest raged with such violence, during the whole of the next day, the 18th, and the rain poured down in such torrents, that none of us quitted our lodgings. Having repaired to the Prince's quarters, about seven o'clock in the evening, I found no one in his anti-chamber; but when I was about to withdraw, Mr. Sullivan issued from the Prince's closet and informed me, that, from the badness of the weather, the cannon taken from the enemy had been left on the field of battle without any guard, and he requested me to go instantly with a guard of a serjeant and twenty men, and pass the night beside them. He added that I should find the guard below, ready to march. I set out with this detachment. The serjeant carried a lantern; but the light was soon extinguished, and by that accident we immediately lost our way, and wandered a long time at the foot of the hill, among heaps of dead bodies, which their whiteness rendered visible, notwithstanding the obscurity of a very dark night. To add to the disagreeableness of our situation from the horror of this scene, the wind and rain were full in our faces. I even remarked a trembling and strong agitation in my horse, which constantly shook when it was forced to put its feet on the heaps of dead bodies, and to climb over them. However, after we had wandered a long time amongst these bodies we found at length the cannon. On my return to Falkirk, I felt myself relieved as from an oppressive burden; but the horrid spectacle I had witnessed was, for a long time, fresh in my mind. How inconsistent is man! During a battle, we frequently see our dearest

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friends fall by our side, as has repeatedly happened to myself, without being sensibly affected with sorrow and regret at the moment of their unfortunate death; and yet, when we coolly proceed over a field of battle, we are seized with horror, at the sight of a spectacle repugnant to human nature, of dead bodies, though, when living, they may have been perfectly unknown to us. So much does man differ from himself, according to the situations in which he happens to be placed. The Prince received news from Edinburgh every moment, with details of the consternation and panic-terror of the English in their flight. He was informed that, for several days after their defeat, they were still under the influence of their alarm; and that at the review by their commissary of war, there were not four thousand present in Edinburgh, out of the thirteen or fourteen thousand, the number of their army before the battle.* The friends of the Prince exhorted him to repair with all haste to the capital, to disperse this wreck of the English army, and resume the possession of that city. This, in the opinion of every one, was the only sensible course which the Prince could adopt; but it was

* The alarm must have been very great; for though, as Mr. Home observes, "when General Hawley came to Edinburgh, his army was reinforced by two regiments of foot, the 25th and 21st," that had served abroad, and behaved remarkably well on every occasion; notwithstanding that reinforcement, which the quality of the troops rendered considerable, this army remained at Edinburgh till the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland, who came to the palace of Holyrood-house, on Thursday the 30th of January." Some soldiers were condemned to be shot for bad behaviour, and some officers were cashiered.

The number of the King's army at Falkirk, is, however, rated much too high here. Even Secretary Murray acknowledges, in a letter to Cameron of Lochiel, that "there was not above 8000 regular troops, in all, at Falkirk." There were 12 infantry regiments, 3 dragoon regiments, and the Glasgow regiment, and some volunteers, which being newly raised, were not allowed to take their station in the line.

soon seen, that it is much easier to gain a victory than to know how to profit by it. The gaining a battle is very often the effect of pure chance; but to reap all the advantages, of which a victory is susceptible, requires genius, capacity, and superior talents; and it is in turning a victory to account, that we particularly discover the great soldier. One thing is certain, and that is, that the vanquished will always have great resources in the negligence of the victorious party. We ought to have pursued the English with the rapidity of a torrent, in order to prevent them from recovering from their fright: we should have kept continually at their heels, and never relaxed, till they were no longer in a condition to rally; without thinking of reaping the fruits of our victory, till their complete defeat should enable us to do so with safety, and with leisure and tranquillity.

On the 19th, when the weather became favourable, it was natural to think we should take the rout to Edinburgh. But,—what fatal blindness!—instead of pursuing a vanquished and routed enemy, the Prince resolved to return to Bannockburn, to continue the siege of Stirling Castle. This determination was the result of a consultation with M. Mirabelle, the senseless individual already mentioned, who promised to reduce it in the course of forty-eight hours. The possession of this petty fort was of no essential importance to us; on the contrary, it was of more advantage to us that it should remain in the hands of the enemy, in order to restrain the Highlanders, and prevent them from returning, when they pleased, to their own country, from the fear of being made prisoners in passing this Castle, for they were constantly going home, whenever they got possession of any booty taken from the English, in order to secure it. This fatal resolution of returning to Stirling, induced Mr. Peter Smith,

the Freron of our army, to observe, " that our whole enterprise had been one continued series of blunders; but that, fortunately for us, the Almighty had hitherto turned all our blunders to our advantage." However, this stupid and gross blunder of not pursuing the enemy with vigour, and not keeping continually at their heels, to disperse them completely, without relaxing so long as one Englishman remained on the soil of Scotland, could never, by possibility, be of any advantage to us, and could not fail, sooner or later, to effect our ruin.

Effects, far from corresponding to their causes, frequently give rise to events altogether different from what appearances might lead us to anticipate. Who could have imagined, that the six pieces of heavy artillery, sent by the court of France to our assistance, would become our ruin? And yet they certainly were our ruin; for without them we should never have dreamed of laying siege to Stirling Castle, as no one could have thought of a siege without artillery; and after the victory of Falkirk, all of us would have agreed as to the propriety of effecting the complete destruction of the English army, by following up the victory by a hot pursuit, and taking possession of Edinburgh. This idea would naturally have suggested itself to all of us; for there was nothing but the possession of this Castle which could blind the good sense and judgment of any one.

Our trenches traced on a hill to the north of the Castle, by Mirabelle, advanced very slowly, there being only a mere covering of earth on the hill, and we lost a great many men, particularly of the Irish picquets. What a pity that these brave men should have been sacrificed to no purpose, by the ignorance and folly of Mirabelle! These piquets, who behaved with the most distinguished bravery and intrepidity at the battle of Fal-

kirk, preserving always the best order, when the whole of the rest of our army was dispersed, and keeping the enemy in check by the bold countenance which they displayed, ought to have been reserved for a better occasion.

At length, on the 30th of January, M. Mirabelle, with a childish impatience to witness the effects of his battery, unmasked it, as soon as three embrasures of the six of which it was to have been composed were finished, and immediately began a very brisk fire with his three pieces of cannon; but it was of short duration, and produced very little effect on the batteries of the Castle, which being more elevated than ours, the enemy could see even the buckles of the shoes of our artillerymen. As their fire commanded ours, our guns were immediately dismounted; and in less than half an hour we were obliged to abandon our battery altogether, as no one could approach it without meeting with certain destruction; while our guns, being pointed upwards, could do no execution whatever. Thus a work of three weeks, which had prevented us from deriving any advantage from our victory at Falkirk, and which had cost us the lives of a great number of brave men, was demolished in an instant, like a castle of cards, and rased as level as a ponton, and all our guns were dismounted. Justice ought to be done to the merit and good conduct of General Blakeney, who perceived our ignorance from the position of our battery, and did not disturb us while constructing it. Convinced that we could do him no injury from that quarter, he remained quiet, like a skilful general, and allowed us to go on, that we might lose those precious moments which we ought to have employed in pursuing the enemy; well knowing that he could destroy our battery whenever he pleased, and level it, in an instant, with the ground.

This error of amusing ourselves before the Castle, instead of pursuing the enemy, the punishment of which followed so soon afterwards, was the beginning of our calamities. Up to this time, fortune seemed to have blindly favoured us. The English soldiers, in their flight, had dispersed so much up and down the fields, that, five days after the battle, four thousand men could scarcely be assembled at Edinburgh, which, by our mismanagement, became a rallying point for them, and the source whence all our disasters flowed. The fugitives, finding themselves not pursued, began to recover, by degrees, from their fright, took courage from our inactivity and lethargy, and at length joined their colours in the capital; so that by the reinforcement of two regiments of infantry, Sempell's and the Scots fusileers, the dragoon regiments of Bland and St. George, with Kingston's light-horse, detached from the army of Marshal Wade, the army of the enemy, in eight or ten days, was stronger than it had been before the battle of Falkirk.

General Cope is said to have enjoyed with evident satisfaction the news of the defeat of General Hawley. He had, according to the English custom, offered bets to the amount of ten thousand guineas, in the different coffee-houses in London, that the first general sent to command an army against us in Scotland, would be beaten, as he had been at Gladsmuir: and by the defeat of General Hawley, he gained a considerable sum of money, and recovered his honour to a certain degree. The Duke of Cumberland was immediately ordered to take the command of the army in Scotland; and he left London the 25th and arrived at Edinburgh on the 30th of January.

The destruction of our battery at once terminated the siege of the Castle. The Prince was informed, the same day, of the arrival

of the Duke of Cumberland at Edinburgh; and immediately reviewed his army at Bannockburn, with the intention of advancing to meet him; but finding that a number of Highlanders were missing, whom our long stay at Stirling, and the proximity of their own country had induced to return home, to secure their booty, our army was obliged to retreat, and to abandon all our artillery to the enemy, with the exception of a few field-pieces. To our eternal shame, we fled, with precipitation, from the same army which we had completely beaten sixteen days before. *

* The resolution to retreat was adopted before the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland at Edinburgh. On the 28th, Lord George Murray came to Bannockburn, and shewed Charles a plan of the battle, then in contemplation. Next morning, the 29th, Lord George Murray's aid-de-camp came to Bannockburn, with a packet from Lord George, containing a paper signed by him and all the chiefs who were with him at Falkirk, advising a retreat to the North.

In this paper the chiefs state, that "a vast number of the soldiers of your Royal Highness's army are gone home since the battle of Falkirk; and, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the commanders of the different corps, they find that this evil is increasing hourly, and not in their power to prevent; and as we are afraid Stirling Castle cannot be taken so soon as was expected, if the enemy should march before it fall into your Royal Highness's hands, we can foresee nothing but utter destruction to the few that will remain, considering the inequality of our number to that of the enemy. For these reasons we are humbly of opinion, that there is no way to extricate your Royal Highness, and those who remain with you, out of the most imminent danger, but by retiring immediately to the Highlands." "*It is but just now,*" they add, "we are apprised of the number of our own people that are gone off, besides the many sick that are in no condition to fight."

Mr. Home states, that one of the reasons for the necessity of the retreat urged in this paper was, "that the Duke of Cumberland's army had been reinforced since the battle;" but there is not a word in the paper of any such augmentation, nor is the Duke of Cumberland ever mentioned in it.

There can be no question that the rebel army must have been greatly diminished, since the battle, both by deaths and the cause stated in the address of the chiefs. A number of men were lost at the siege of Stirling castle, and the Macdonalds of Glengary, having lost their colonel, who was accidentally killed a day or two after

How fortunate the army which has an able general at its head! How distressing the reflection, that the existence of thousands of men depends upon a single individual! an error in judgment of whom may render them, in an instant, the victims of misfortune, by occasioning a chain of calamities without remedy, the necessary consequences of a first fault. The absurd wish to possess an insignificant castle, which could be of no real utility to us, produced a series of effects, which ruined the Prince's enterprise, and brought a great number of his partisans to the scaffold. The

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the battle of Falkirk, a great many of that regiment in particular went home to the Highlands. M. Patullo says, "when the rebels retreated to the North, they only amounted to about 5000, many of the men having gone home with spoil after the battle, who joined the army afterwards." The diminution would thus appear to have amounted in this short space to about 4000.

Yet John Hay, the person who acted occasionally as the Prince's secretary, and to whom we have alluded in a former note, was pleased to say, "It was afterwards known, that the account of the number of men said to be absent, was greatly exaggerated. Glengary's regiment had only lost ten." Are we to believe that, while the whole army lost nearly the half of its number, the regiment whose colonel was killed, lost only ten? This individual also says, that when Charles read the paper, "he struck his head against the wall till he staggered, and exclaimed most violently against Lord George Murray: his words were "Good God! have I lived to see this!" To see what? A handful of men adopt the only measure which held out to them a hope of future advantage, and a possibility of escaping present destruction. Because, therefore, these chieftains were not disposed to rush blindly on their destruction, this weak and bad-hearted Prince, (for the man who never discovered "any sorrow or compassion for the misfortunes of so many worthy men who suffered in his cause," if we are to believe Dr. King, had unquestionably a bad heart,) *struck his head against the wall*, forsooth, *till he staggered*, and *exclaimed violently* against them! And the silly or worthless minions by whom he was surrounded, who nourished his boyish fondness for battles, seem to have stuck at no falsehoods which served the purposes of deception, either at the time or after the die was cast. The great defect in Mr. Home's book is that it seldom or rather never unmasks the personages who figured in this drama of the rebellion.

bulk of mankind are only capable of seeing at one time a part of an important, extensive, and exalted project; and very few indeed view it in all its extent, with the events which ought naturally to occur in its execution. If the basis of an operation is false, the bad consequences, which flow from it, give rise, in their turn, to other bad consequences, and the evil increases every day.

We left Stirling on the 31st, to proceed to Inverness, the capital of the Highlands situated about thirty-four leagues * to the north-west of Edinburgh, and having crossed the river Forth, at the ford of the Frew, we passed the night at Crief. On the morning of our leaving Stirling, the church of St. Ninians, where we had fifty barrels of powder, accidentally blew up, with a terrible explosion. On the 1st of February, our army left Crief, in two columns; one of which, conducted by Lord George Murray, took the road along the sea coast, passing through the towns of Perth, Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, and Peterhead; the other column, with the Prince at its head, went straight across the mountains by Blair in Athol, which is the shortest road to Inverness. The Prince's column, in passing through Badenoch, took a little fort at Ruthven, and another at about five leagues from it, called fort Augustus †, which King George had constructed to restrain and awe the Highlanders. They were immediately rased, and the garrisons made prisoners of war.

On the 16th, the Prince slept at Moy, a castle belonging to the chief of the clan of Mackintosh, about two leagues from Inverness. ‡ Lord Loudon, lieutenant-general, in the service of

* Inverness is 156 miles from Edinburgh.

† Fort Augustus was taken after the castle of Inverness had come into the hands of the rebels.

‡ Moy is about 10 or 11 miles from Inverness.

King George, and colonel of a regiment of Highlanders, being at Inverness, with about two thousand regular troops, the Prince intended to wait the arrival of the other column, before approaching nearer to that town. In the mean time, Lord Loudon formed the project of seizing by surprise the person of the Prince, who could have no suspicion of any attempt of the kind, conceiving himself in perfect security at Moy; and His Lordship would have succeeded in this design, but for the intervention of that invisible Being who frequently chooses to manifest his power in overturning the best contrived schemes of feeble mortals. His Lordship, at three o'clock in the afternoon, posted guards, and a chain of centinels, all round Inverness, both within and without the town, with positive orders not to suffer any person to leave it, on any pretext whatever, or whatever the rank of the person might be. He ordered, at the same time, fifteen hundred men to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning; and having assembled this body of troops without noise, and without alarming the inhabitants, he put himself at their head, and instantly set off, planning his march so as to arrive at the castle of Moy about eleven o'clock at night.

Whilst some English officers were drinking in the house of Mrs. Bailly, an innkeeper in Inverness, and passing the time till the hour of their departure, her daughter, a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, who happened to wait on them, paid great attention to their conversation, and, from certain expressions dropped by them, she discovered their designs. As soon as this generous girl was certain as to their intentions, she immediately left the house, escaped from the town, notwithstanding the vigilance of the centinels, and immediately took the road to

Moy, running as fast as she was able, without shoes or stockings, which, to accelerate her progress, she had taken off, in order to inform the Prince of the danger that menaced him. She reached Moy, quite out of breath, before Lord Loudon; and the Prince, with difficulty, escaped in his robe de chambre, night-cap, and slippers, to the neighbouring mountains, where he passed the night in concealment. This dear girl, to whom the Prince owed his life, was in great danger of losing her own, from her excessive fatigue on this occasion; but the care and attentions she experienced restored her to life, and her health was at length re-established. The Prince, having no suspicion of such a daring attempt, had very few people with him in the castle of Moy.

As soon as the girl had spread the alarm, the blacksmith of the village of Moy presented himself to the Prince, and assured His Royal Highness that he had no occasion to leave the castle; as he would answer for it, with his head, that Lord Loudon and his troops would be obliged to return faster than they came. The Prince had not sufficient confidence in his assurances to neglect seeking his safety by flight to the neighbouring mountains. However, the blacksmith, for his own satisfaction, put his project in execution. He instantly assembled a dozen of his companions, and advanced with them about a quarter of a league from the castle, on the road to Inverness. There he laid an ambuscade, placing six of his companions, on each side of the highway, to wait the arrival of the detachment of Lord Loudon, enjoining them not to fire till he should tell them, and then not to fire together, but one after another. When the head of the detachment of Lord Loudon was opposite the twelve men, about eleven o'clock in the evening, the blacksmith called out with a loud voice, "Here come the villains, who intend carrying off our Prince; fire, my lads, do not spare them;

give no quarter!" In an instant muskets were discharged from each side of the road, and the detachment, seeing their project had taken wind, began to fly in the greatest disorder, imagining that our whole army was lying in wait for them. Such was their terror and consternation, that they did not stop till they reached Inverness. In this manner did a common blacksmith, with twelve of his companions, put Lord Loudon and fifteen hundred regular troops to flight. The fifer of his Lordship, who happened to be at the head of the detachment, was killed by the first discharge; and the detachment did not wait for a second. *

* Mr. Home states, that Lady Mackintosh was informed in the evening of this design against her guest, by two letters from Inverness, one from Fraser of Gorthleek, and one from her own mother, who was a Whig, but did not like that Charles should be killed or taken prisoner in her daughter's house. He also states, that, without saying a word to Charles or any of his company, who knew nothing of Lord Loudon's march till next morning, she ordered five or six of her people, well armed, under the conduct of a country smith, "to watch the road from Inverness, and give notice if they should perceive any number of men coming towards Moy;" that when Lord Loudon's troops were within three miles of the place, the noise which they made was heard by the smith and his party, who immediately gave them a fire, and, running here and there, called upon the Macdonalds and Camerons to advance on the right and left; and that the panic was such, that many were thrown down, and trod upon, and narrowly escaped being trampled to death. The Master of Ross, who gave this account to Mr. Home, had been in many perils; but he said he had never been in so grievous a condition as that in which he was at the route of Moy.

All accounts agree as to the victory achieved by the blacksmith over 1500 men; and it is only in the minor circumstances that they differ. We think the statement of the author, where it varies from that of Mr. Home, by much the most probable of the two. It was very unlikely that Lady Mackintosh would conceal the approach of so alarming a danger from Charles, and stake his life on the issue of so desperate an attempt as that of the blacksmith and his six followers. It is far more probable, that the blacksmith fell upon this bold stratagem himself, than that it should have been suggested by Lady Mackintosh.

Next morning the Prince assembled all his column, who had passed the night in the villages and hamlets some miles from Moy, and advanced to Inverness, with the intention of attacking Lord Loudon, and taking revenge for the attempt of the preceding night; but, as he approached the town, his Lordship retreated across the arm of the sea, to the north of Inverness, after collecting, and taking along with him to the other side, all the boats, great and small, and other vessels, that could aid us in pursuing him.

The castle of Inverness was fortified in the modern manner, being a regular square with four bastions, and it was advantageously situated on the top of an eminence, which commanded the town. It was built in the time of Oliver Cromwell, and had ever since been kept in good repair, with the view of enforcing the subjection of the Highlanders, who are naturally brave and faithful, and are generally attached to the house of Stuart. * Since the Revolution of 1688, the keeping up of this fortress had cost, it is said, above fifty thousand pounds sterling. The governor of the castle, who was in a situation to stand a siege, at first refused to comply with the summons of the Prince; but, two hours after the trenches were opened, he surrendered himself with his garrison, which consisted of two companies of Lord Loudon's regiment. The Prince immediately gave orders to raze the fortifications, and blow up the bastions. M. L'Epine, a serjeant in the French artillery, who was charged

* The fort built by Cromwell was in ruins long before the year 1746. It was a pentagon of two hundred yards to a side, situated near the entrance of the Ness into the Murray Frith, and commanded the town of Inverness, the mouth of the river, and part of the country on the sides of it where there were no hills. The castle of Inverness, which was destroyed by the rebels in 1746, was situated on a hill to the south-west of Cromwell's fort.

with the operation, lost his life on the occasion. This unfortunate individual, believing the match extinguished, approached to examine it, when the mine sprung, which blew him into the air, with the stones of the bastion, to an immense height.

Our cavalry, which had taken the same road with the column of Lord George Murray, arrived on the 16th, at the river Spey; a detachment forded this river, and slept at Elgin, the capital of the shire of Murray. On the 17th, the column of Lord George arrived at Elgin; and, on the 18th, part of it advanced to Forres, and part of it as far as Nairn, escorting the cargo of two ships, which had landed at Peterhead, the one from France and the other from Spain, consisting of money, arms, and military stores. The vessel from France had on board a piquet of the cavalry regiment of Fitzjames. On the 19th the whole army formed a junction at Inverness.

The Hazard sloop of war, of about eighteen guns, which had been taken by the Highlanders in a very singular manner, and sent into France with news of our victory at Falkirk, was retaken by the English, on the 25th of March. Having been chased the whole of the 24th, by the English ship of war the Sheerness, it threw itself on the coast of Lord Ray's country, in the northern extremity of Scotland. The Hazard conveyed a hundred thousand crowns, and stores from France; but the vassals of Lord Ray, who were attached to the house of Hanover, pillaged the cargo, and made prisoners of the crew, who had lost thirty-six men in the engagement with the Sheerness, a vessel of sixty guns. The Highlanders took the Hazard at Montrose, without any premeditated design. This vessel, having been for some time cruising before Montrose, annoyed the Highlanders

very much, firing on them continually, whenever any of them made their appearance on the shore. The Highlanders were quite indignant at seeing it anchored so near to the land. One day, when there happened to be a very thick fog, they embarked in fishing-boats; and the officers who were with them, having induced them to approach nearer and nearer, as if from curiosity to examine a ship of war, which they had never before seen, as soon as the crew of the Hazard perceived them through the fog, the sailors, seized with a panic, threw themselves on their knees, on the deck, and asked quarter with uplifted hands, being afraid that the Highlanders would board them, and put the whole of them to the sword. The Highlanders immediately climbed up the vessel, and took possession of it; but knowing nothing of navigation, they compelled their prisoners, with pistols at their breasts, to steer the vessel into the port of Montrose. Intrepid, animated, and resolute men are capable of every thing; but they must, at the same time, be headed by an officer of the same stamp, capable of directing their operations, acquainted with their character and what they can do, that they may not be sacrificed in enterprises beyond their means; for then, instead of appearing prodigies of valour, they will only be ordinary men. He who was at the head of the Highlanders by whom the Hazard was taken, intended to board it, and attempt to take it by a *coup de main*; but he led them skilfully to this object, without their having the least suspicion of his motive.

The Duke of Cumberland arrived at Stirling, with his army, on the 2d of February, where he remained till the 5th. He passed the night of the 5th at Crief, and arrived at Perth on the 6th; from which place he dispatched a detachment to seize the Duchess of Perth in her castle, because her son was with the

Prince; as also the Viscountess of Strathallan, whose husband and son were both of them in our army. These two ladies were conveyed to Edinburgh Castle, where they were shut up for nearly a whole year, in a small and unhealthy prison. This trait of the Duke of Cumberland was quite unexampled. Who ever before heard of rendering a mother responsible for the opinions of her son, or a wife for those of her husband?

On the 8th of February, the Prince of Hesse, son-in-law of King George, landed at Leith, with five thousand infantry and five hundred hussars, in the pay of England. He remained at Edinburgh till the 23d, when he left it to proceed to Perth with his troops, to replace his brother-in-law, the Duke of Cumberland, who had gone to the north of Scotland against us. The Prince of Hesse, during his stay at Edinburgh, was beloved and esteemed by every body, on account of the moderation of his conduct and the propriety of his behaviour to the partisans of the Prince, mingling indifferently in all circles, without appearing to take any personal interest in the quarrel between the Houses of Hanover and Stuart; and the Hessians, imitating the example of their Prince, were equally well liked.

As all the male vassals of the Duke of Athol were in our army, with his brother Lord George, the Duke of Cumberland sent a detachment of his troops into their country, who committed the most unheard-of cruelties, burning the houses of the gentlemen who were with the Prince; turning out their wives and children in the midst of winter, to perish in the mountains with cold and hunger, after subjecting them to every species of infamous and brutal treatment. As soon as these proceedings were known at Inverness, Lord George set off instantly, with the clan of Athol, to take vengeance for this treatment; and he conducted his march

so well, passing through bye-ways across the mountains, that the enemy had no information of his approach. Having planned his march so as to arrive at Athol in the beginning of the night, the detachment separated, dividing itself into small parties, every gentleman taking the shortest road to his own house; and in this manner all the English were surprised in their sleep. Those who found their wives and daughters violated by the brutality of these monsters, and their families dying from hunger and the inclemency of the season, made no prisoners. All the English received, while they slept, the punishment which their inhumanity merited. Thus they were all either put to the sword or made prisoners, except two or three hundred men, who barricaded themselves in the castle of the Duke of Athol, which could not be forced without cannon. It was impossible to transport cannon across the mountains, by the paths which it was necessary to take to succeed in such a surprise. The clan of Athol was the most numerous in our army, amounting to from twelve to fifteen hundred men. *

* Excesses may have been committed by the King's troops, quartered in Athol; but from various circumstances we may venture to affirm, that the above is a very exaggerated account of them. The conduct of the royal army was very different before the victory at Culloden from what it was afterwards.

No fewer than thirty posts, great and small, were attacked on the night in question, and all of them were carried. Though there was a good deal of firing, the rebels did not lose one man, and the King's troops not above three or four; and 300 non-commissioned officers and soldiers were taken prisoners. Few, therefore, of the royal army were put to the sword.

But more humane enemies than the Highlanders, under the influence of the feelings which the barbarous cruelty above alluded to could not fail to excite, would have certainly put a greater number of the soldiers to death. The Highlanders of former times have often been accused of excessive vindictiveness, and even of cruelty; but no one, we believe, ever yet attributed to them excessive humanity. The author of "Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland, to his Friend in London,"

The Prince of Hesse was then at Perth, which is three or four leagues from the castle of the Duke of Athol, at Blair.* And as soon as he received information of this adventure, he immediately dispatched a body of Hessian troops to the support of the English, and to oblige Lord George to raise the siege of the

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printed in 1754, but written several years before, who had from his long residence in the Highlands, excellent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the character of the people, and whose penetration and candour have been spoken of in the highest terms by the late Earl of Selkirk and Sir Walter Scott, expressly states, "that the Highlanders, for the most part, are cruel," though he allows "all clans are not alike merciless. In general they have not generosity enough to give quarter to an enemy that falls in their power; nor do they seem to have any remorse at shedding blood without necessity." In one of the Memoirs relative to the Rebellion of 1745, in the second volume of Lockhart's papers, it is said the Highlanders could never be prevailed on to leave any sick or wounded men behind them; a circumstance which can only be explained by the cruelty of the mode of warfare to which they were accustomed.

* Blair is twenty-eight miles distant from Perth.

Several works, in general circulation, abound in misrepresentations with regard to the transactions at Blair. In Smollet's history it is said, "Lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair, which was defended by Sir Andrew Agnew, until a body of Hessians marched to its relief, and obliged the rebels to retire." Lord George Murray remained before Blair from the 17th to the 31st of March, when, having received orders to join the army at Inverness, he marched with all his forces to Badenoch. During the blockade nothing memorable happened; but Mr. Home acknowledges that the garrison were reduced to great extremity from want of provisions, and would have been obliged to surrender, if it had lasted a few days longer.

As Lord George had only seven hundred men with him, and as nearly six thousand Hessians were within a day's march of Blair, how happens it that they did not, in all this interval between the 17th and the 31st, compel him to raise the siege? Mr. Home could have told, but he did not choose to tell, the cause. The story that the Hessians, when they came to the pass of Killiecranky, were so alarmed at the aspect of the country, that they would not advance farther into it, though repeated in a number of works published in Scotland, is unworthy of a moment's consideration.

castle, of which he had already formed the blockade. These hussars having attacked Lord George, the Highlanders fell upon them with rapidity and impetuosity, sword in hand; and running after them as fast as their horses, they killed five or six Hessians, and took one lieutenant prisoner. Next day, Lord George sent back the officer, with a letter to the Prince of Hesse, in which he demanded, in the name of Prince Charles, a cartel, for the exchange of prisoners on both sides; adding, that if he would not grant it, all the Hessians who might fall into our hands should be put to the sword. The Prince of Hesse communicated the letter of Lord George to the Duke of Cumberland, representing the demand as reasonable and just; but the Duke would not hear of any cartel. The Prince declared instantly that, "Without a cartel no Hessian should stir from Perth;" and he added, that he was not so much interested in the quarrel between the Houses of Stuart and Hanover, as to sacrifice his subjects in combating with men driven to despair. The Prince kept his word; having always remained at Perth with his Hessians, and refusing to advance to the north of Scotland to join the English army, as the Duke of Cumberland wished him to do.

The Duke of Cumberland, on his arrival at Aberdeen, a considerable city, nearly 12 leagues from Inverness *, distributed his army in quarters in that city and its neighbourhood, with the intention of remaining there till the commencement of the fine weather in the spring; and the little town of Keith in Strathbogie, where he had part of his troops, was almost in the centre of the places occupied by him. Mr. Glasgow, an Irish officer,

* Inverness is about 100 miles from Aberdeen.

in the service of France, proposed to the Prince to carry their post at Keith; and pledged himself to effect this with a detachment of only two hundred men. The Prince, at first, hesitated, having great doubts of the success; but at length he gave his consent. The enterprise of Glasgow was equally bold and dangerous; however, he conducted himself like a prudent and skilful officer, and succeeded in the most complete manner. He arrived at Keith at one o'clock in the morning, without being discovered, and exactly at the termination of the time he had calculated his march would occupy. On the centinel before the guard-house calling out "Who goes there?" Mr. Glasgow replied, "A friend," and advanced himself to the sentinel, whom he killed with his dirk. The Highlanders immediately rushed on the guard, who at first made some resistance, but were soon disarmed. Then, without losing a moment, they flew through the town, making prisoners of the soldiers, who were quartered in the houses of the inhabitants; and Mr. Glasgow managed matters so well, that, in less than an hour, he accomplished his object, and retired with a hundred and eighty prisoners *, whom he presented next day to the Prince. This bold enterprise had a very good effect, and made such an impression on the English, that, conceiving themselves insecure every where, they were obliged to redouble their service in the midst of winter, in that cold and mountainous country; the fatigues of which occasioned so much disease, that the hospitals of Aberdeen, the head-quarters of the Duke of Cumberland, were continually filled with their sick.

* Mr. Home makes the number of the detachment at Keith 70 infantry, and 30 horse.

Lord Loudon, with his corps, frequently harassed and annoyed us: he sent detachments across the arm of the sea between himself and us, and kept us continually on the alert. When we attempted to attack them, they re-embarked, and crossed immediately to the other side; and as we could not pursue them for want of shipping, we were obliged to put up with their insults. This position of Lord Loudon was the more alarming to us, that we were assured the Duke of Cumberland only waited for favourable weather to attack us; and his Lordship might cross this arm of the sea or frith, whilst we were engaged with the English, and thus place us between two fires. It was, therefore, deemed an object of the highest importance that we should attack Lord Loudon, and disperse his detachment.

The Prince ordered all the fishing boats, large and small, to be found at Speymouth, and the other little ports of our side of the frith, which is about a league in breadth, to be brought to Findhorn; and during the night between the 19th and 20th of March, we embarked as many men in them as they could contain, under the orders of the Duke of Perth, who was appointed to command this expedition. The Duke took with him about eighteen hundred men, and a very thick fog, which came on in the morning, having greatly favoured the enterprise, he landed his detachment very near the enemy, who did not perceive our troops till they were within fifty paces of them, advancing rapidly sword in hand. The enemy were so much confounded on seeing the Highlanders ready to fall on them, that the greater part threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. A few escaped by flight, and Lord Loudon was of the number. The Duke of Perth returned the same day to

Inverness with some hundred prisoners, without having fired a single shot, or shed one drop of blood. *

On the 19th, after the detachment was assigned to the Duke of Perth, Mr. Macdonald of Scothouse came to pass the day with me. He was about forty years of age, had a fine countenance, and to his agreeable exterior he added a noble and commanding figure. He had all the qualities which usually distinguish a worthy and gallant man; brave, polished, obliging, he possessed at the same time a cultivated mind, and a sound judgment. Although our acquaintance had only commenced with the Prince's expedition, I soon learned to appreciate his merit, and the charms of his society; and notwithstanding the disproportion of our age, we were united together in the closest friendship. He entertained for me all the affec-

* There is here an inaccuracy. Lord Loudon, on the approach of the rebels to Inverness, retreated across the Murray Frith, at the ferry of Kessock, to Ross-shire. In the beginning of March, Lord Cromarty was sent into Ross-shire with a detachment to dislodge Lord Loudon, who stood his ground till the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray arrived, with a strong reinforcement. Lord Loudon then retreated across the Frith of Tain to Sutherland, quartering his troops in the town of Dornoch, and the neighbouring country. Lord George Murray left the Duke of Perth to prosecute the war against Lord Loudon, and proceeded, as has been already mentioned, to Athol. The Duke of Perth, having collected a number of boats brought them *to the town of Tain*, which is directly opposite to Dornoch, embarked as many men as he could in the boats; he himself, with a considerable force, marching about by the head of the Frith. The boats landed under cover of a thick fog, without being discovered. The Duke of Perth, on uniting his forces, came up, near Dornoch, with 200 men, commanded by a major, who had received information of the approach of the enemy by Lord Loudon, and was marching to join him; and the major, and four or five officers, and sixty men, were made prisoners. The rest dispersed. Lord Loudon, after this disaster, separated his force; he himself, with President Forbes and the Laird of Macleod, marched through Sutherland, to the sea-coast, and embarked, with 800 men, to the Isle of Sky. Several of the officers and men retreated to Lord Rae's country.

tion of a father. As he was naturally of a gay disposition, the grief in which he appeared on his entrance attracted my notice. On enquiring the cause, this worthy man replied, with tears in his eyes, "Ah! my friend, you know not what it is to be a father. I am one of the detachment which is to set out this evening to attack Lord Loudon; you are ignorant that a son whom I adore is an officer in his regiment. I thought myself fortunate in being able to procure such a situation for this youth, being unable to anticipate the landing of the Prince in Scotland. Perhaps, to-morrow, I may be so unfortunate as to kill my son with my own hand; and thus the same ball which I fire in my defence may give to myself the most cruel death! However, in going with the detachment, I may be able to save him; and, if I do not go, he may fall by the hands of another." The recital of poor Scothouse distressed me very much, and I could not refrain from mingling my tears with his, although I had never seen the young man, the subject of such painful anxiety to an affectionate father. I kept him with me the whole day, endeavouring, by every means in my power, to divert his attention from so melancholy a subject, and made him promise, on his taking leave of me, to visit me immediately on his return from the expedition. Next evening, I heard a loud knocking at my door; and running to it, I perceived this good father, holding a handsome young man by the hand. He instantly called out, with eyes sparkling with joy, "Here, my friend, here is he, who caused me yesterday so much anxiety. I took him prisoner myself, and, having secured him, I troubled myself very little about taking others." He then shed tears of joy; very different from the tears of the preceding evening. We supped all three together in my apart-

ment, and I scarce ever enjoyed more satisfaction than in witnessing this tender scene between the father and son.

Mr. Cameron of Lochiel departed with his clan for his own country on the 18th of March, taking with him Mr. Grant, and a few field-pieces, which we found in the castle of Inverness, on its surrender, to lay siege to Fort William, in his neighbourhood, which greatly harassed his vassals. He began the siege on the 20th, and it lasted only a few days. It was the last of the Highland forts that remained to be taken; and when it came into our possession, it was immediately rased, like the rest. *

Having taken a greater number of English soldiers prisoners since the commencement of our expedition, than that of all the Highlanders in our army, it became extremely difficult to know how to dispose of them. As our ambulatory army was always in motion, they continually escaped, so that at last very few remained with us; and, what was still worse, they joined their different regiments, so that we had always to encounter the same men whom we had vanquished before, and whose lives we had spared. It was a very considerable advantage to the English to gain, in this manner, thousands of soldiers for their army, to whom they had no longer any right. There were two ways of avoiding this inconvenience; either to send them to France, which was not an easy matter, from the difficulty of obtaining

* Fort William was besieged, but never taken. A detachment of 300 Irish piquets was first sent off under General Stapleton, which was to be joined by the Camerons, the Macdonalds of Keppoch, and the Stuarts of Appin, all of whom were to be under the command of Lochiel, on his arrival at Fort-William. The Highlanders appeared before the fortress in the end of February; but the hilly road between Inverness and Fort William retarded the march of the French soldiers and the cannon so much, that it occupied a number of days; and the fire from the batteries did not open till the 20th of March. On the 3d of April the siege was raised.

transports, or make no prisoners, but put all the enemy to the sword, which, perhaps, might be deemed fighting on equal terms, as every Scotsman who was made a prisoner was sure to perish on the scaffold. The latter alternative appears extremely harsh to those who are as humanely disposed as we were, and yet it was consonant to justice. Indeed this was the only kind of warfare that we ought to have adopted, to infuse more terror into the enemy, and prevent us from having to combat the same individuals over and over again. Besides, the English soldiers, when once dispersed, would not have been so anxious to join their colours as they actually were, nor to expose themselves, by escaping from us, a second time to the swords of the Highlanders, when they knew they would receive no quarter: but they perceived that our humanity bordered upon weakness, and that they only ran the risk of being once more taken prisoners.

Mr. Peter Smith, of whom I have already spoken, and who had always very singular ideas, suggested to the Prince a means of extricating ourselves from this dilemma, which was, to cut off the thumbs of their right hands, to render them incapable of holding their muskets. But the excessive attachment of the Prince for the English nation, the executioners of his family, prevented him from adopting any expedient which could give them the smallest umbrage.

We had from four to five hundred officers, prisoners, to whom the Prince gave permission to go wherever they pleased, on their parole not to serve against him, for the space of eighteen months. The Prince obliged those who were taken prisoners at Falkirk, to add their oath to their parole, to bind them more effectually; but the Duke of Cumberland, on leaving Edinburgh, sent circular letters to all the English officers,

our prisoners of war, to absolve them from their parole and their oath; declaring that they could not be bound by any parole given to rebels; and he added, that unless they immediately joined their respective regiments, he would punish their disobedience, by disposing of their commissions to others. To the eternal disgrace of the English officers, there were only four who refused to accept of the absolution of the Duke of Cumberland, viz. Sir Peter Halket, lieutenant-colonel of Lee's regiment, taken at the battle of Gladsmuir, and Mr. Ross, son of Lord Ross, with two other officers, who replied, "That he was master of their commissions, but not of their probity and honour." *

We learned, at Inverness, that the Duke of Cumberland, having assembled his army, had set out from Aberdeen, on the 8th of April, and taken the road by Old Meldrum and Banff. The Prince immediately dispatched Lord John Drummond to Elgin, with his regiment of Royal Scots, the five piquets of the Irish brigade, Lord Elcho and our cavalry, and the piquet of Fitzjames's regiment, recently landed at Peterhead, without horses, but with saddles, bridles, and other cavalry equipments, which was hastily mounted on such horses as could be got. Lord John was instructed to throw up entrenchments

* This disgraceful conduct on the part of the officers, who broke their parole, though mentioned in all the narratives of that period, is not so much as even alluded to by Mr. Home, whose great object seems to have been to utter no truths unpalatable to the reigning family. We do not accuse him of stating untruths, but of suppressing most material truths. We only learn incidentally from him in a note, that General Hawley intended to employ the company of volunteers, of which he (Mr. H.) was lieutenant, in bringing away the officers sent to several places on their parole, but that they refused to undertake the service. Other historians, however, have recorded, to the honour of George II. "That the conduct of Sir Peter Halket, and the few gentlemen who, like him, adhered punctually to their parole, was approved of by that monarch."

along the banks of the Spey, and to dispute the passage of that river with the Duke of Cumberland. The Prince, relying on the resistance of Lord John, who, he supposed, would have recourse to every possible device to defend the ford, and who, if he could not render it altogether impassable, would, at least, by fortifying it with strong intrenchments, retard the approach of the Duke of Cumberland, expected to have had sufficient time to assemble his whole army, of which nearly the half had gone home to see their families, along with the chiefs, who intended to order out every vassal, without exception, capable of bearing arms. Besides, the excessive scarcity of provisions at Inverness was an additional motive for permitting them to return home, as the Prince was convinced that they would cheerfully join his army the moment they received orders for that purpose.

The astonishment which prevailed at Inverness, when the information came upon us like a clap of thunder, that the Duke of Cumberland had forded the river Spey, without experiencing the least opposition, may be easily conceived. Lord Elcho alone, who always distinguished himself, appeared at the ford, with the life-guards, and exchanged a few shots with the English, whilst they were in the river; but they were immediately obliged to fall back; and had much difficulty to effect their retreat, being hotly pursued by the English cavalry. Lord John Drummond had remained at Elgin, with the corps of infantry under his command, without taking any steps to oppose the passage of the river.

Mr. Hunter of Burnside, an officer in the life-guards, narrowly escaped being made prisoner. On firing his pistol at the enemy, he accidentally wounded his horse in the neck, who threw him; but the moment the English were on the point of seizing

him, he sprung up behind a life-guards-man, and they both saved themselves. The ignorance of Lord John Drummond in the art of war, appears the more extraordinary, as he was a general officer in the service of France. It is astonishing that persons of illustrious houses, destined, by their birth, to command armies, to fill the highest offices in the state, and to act the first parts in the kingdom, should not apply with keenness and assiduity to the study of military affairs, in order to enable themselves to discharge their duty with honour and distinction, to the advantage of their king and country; especially as the shame and disgrace which necessarily attach to the military blunders they are continually liable to commit, from their ignorance in the art of war, can never be effaced during the rest of their lives. *

As the Duke of Cumberland advanced, our out-posts fell back upon Inverness. The Prince ordered all the chiefs, who had leave of absence, to join him with the utmost diligence. In the mean time he had the mortification to learn, that the Earl of Cromarty, and his son Lord Macleod, having been surprised in the castle of the Countess of Sutherland, by a detachment commanded by Mr. Mackay, in the service of King George, had been made prisoners, and sent on board the Hound ship of war, to be

* We have already observed, in a note, page 14, that it is now generally allowed, a superior force may always pass a river without much difficulty. The royal army advanced to the Spey in three divisions; one of the divisions entered the river at a ford near Gormach; another division at the ford by Gordon Castle; and the third at a ford near the church of Belly. To defend all these fords with the handful of men which Lord John had under his orders was impracticable. From the great difficulty of the fords, however, some of which do not run straight across, but in a zig-zag direction, considerable mischief might have been done to the royal army in crossing; and it was generally expected that the passage would be disputed. Mr. Home, erroneously, states the rebel force at the Spey to have been under the command of the Duke of Perth.

transported to London. This misfortune deprived the Prince of the clan of Mackenzie, amounting to about five or six hundred men.

For some time provisions had become very scarce at Inverness, and our army suffered very much from want of food. Our military chest too was empty, as the Prince had not, at most, above five hundred Louis, and we were without hope of obtaining any pecuniary supplies in the Highlands, into which we had blindly precipitated ourselves, from the extreme indigence of the inhabitants. Every body felt the distress more or less. We were shut up in the mountains, and our communication with the Low Country was entirely cut off by the English army. The richest lords in our army were very much embarrassed to find means to defray their daily expences, being unable to obtain any money from their tenants.

The Prince left Inverness on the 13th of April, to occupy a position which he had chosen for the field of battle, at the distance of half a league from that town; and we continued there day and night, sleeping on the bare ground, in the open air, without tents or any shelter from the inclemency of the weather. The Highlanders had no other nourishment than some biscuits and water. I never quitted my friend Scothouse, who shared with me all the provisions that he could find; giving me, at the same time, during the nights, which were very cold, the half of his covering, and a part of the straw, which the Highlanders of his regiment had procured for him.

The 15th of April was the birth-day of the Duke of Cumberland; and the Prince, conceiving that the English would on that day be intoxicated, and might, therefore, be taken by surprise, formed the project of attacking the Duke in the

night-time, in his camp at Nairn, which was from three to four leagues from the place, near the Castle of Culloden, where we had remained since the 13th. For this purpose, he immediately ordered our army to set out, without noise, about eight o'clock in the evening, marching in two columns. Lord George, as usual, was at the head of the first, which served as a guide to the Prince, who commanded the second himself. This march across the country, in a dark night, which did not allow us to follow any track, had the inevitable fate of all night-marches. It was extremely fatiguing, and accompanied with confusion and disorder. The Highlanders, who could not keep together from the difficulty of the roads, were dispersed, more or less, and we had many stragglers. Besides, as there were a great many bad places to cross in the dark, it would have been impossible for the best disciplined troops to have preserved any thing like order.

When Lord George, at the head of the first column, was at the distance of about a quarter of a league from the English, at the entrance into a meadow which led to their camp, he halted his column, and immediately acquainted the Prince that it was absolutely necessary to wait a little, to form the Highlanders in order of battle, as they came up, with the view of presenting a front, and attacking the enemy together and without confusion. This advice of Lord George was highly approved of by Mr. Hepburn of Keith, and Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, who were with him at the head of the first column, and has always appeared to me sensible and correct; but the Prince, who did not see the necessity of waiting to form the men in order of battle, and attacking in a body, instead of advancing confusedly and unconnectedly, sent an aide-de-camp to Lord George, with

orders to fall upon the camp of the Duke of Cumberland as soon as he should reach it, whatever number of men might be with him. As soon as Lord George received the answer of the Prince, he instantly retrograded by a road to the left, instead of continuing to advance against the English. He observed to Mr. Hepburn, that it was too late; that the day would begin to appear before they could arrive at the camp of the Duke of Cumberland; and that, the enemy being aware of our approach, might take advantage of our situation, and attack us while disordered and dispersed. Mr. Hepburn replied, that there would be no great harm if we had a little day-light to assist the Highlanders in using their swords to advantage; but Lord George would not listen to him, and was immoveable in his resolution of returning to the Castle of Culloden immediately, without attempting any thing. As the Prince was unacquainted with the retreat of Lord George, he imagined that the first column was still before him, and nearly entered the camp of the enemy; but as soon as he perceived his mistake, he turned back, and our army arrived at Culloden about seven o'clock in the morning, worn out with fatigue, and enraged at having attempted nothing.

I could never comprehend why the Prince wished to attack the English army, so much superior in number to his own, with only a part of his men, in disorder, without waiting till the rest should come up, and without forming them in order of battle, to present a front of attack. A shameful repulse would have been the inevitable consequence of such an attack. A surprise ought not only to be judiciously planned, all the measures which it may naturally lead the enemy to adopt being foreseen, but it ought to be conducted and executed at the same time with wis-

dom, and attention to all the means necessary to ensure success. An enemy surprised, is, no doubt, half conquered; but the case is altered, if he have time to recover from his confusion. In that case he may not only contrive to escape, but even to destroy his opponent.

I do not mean to justify the conduct of Lord George, in retiring with the first column, contrary to the express orders of the Prince, and without informing him of it. Had he waited at the entrance into the meadow, for the arrival of the whole army, which had separated from the obscurity of the night and the badness of the roads, he might have insisted on the absolute necessity of forming in order of battle, in order to begin the attack like people in their senses, and have convinced him of the absurdity of acting otherwise. The Irishmen, whom the Prince had adopted as his only counsellors on all occasions, men of the most limited capacities, endeavoured, by all manner of clandestine reports, to cause it to be believed that, in acting as he did on this occasion, Lord George had betrayed the Prince; but, knowing him better than any other person, perhaps, I can only attribute his disobedience of the Prince's orders to the violence and impetuosity of his character. *

* The night-march to Nairn has been the subject of much bitter controversy. The importance of this measure, will be our excuse for entering at some length into the consideration of it.

The following is the account given of it by Mr. Home:—

"When mid-day (the 15th) came, and the King's army did not appear, it was concluded that they had not moved from their camp at Nairn, and would not move that day, which was the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day. About two o'clock, the men were ordered to their quarters, and Charles, calling together the generals and chiefs, made them a speech, in which he proposed to march with all his forces in the evening, and make a night-attack upon the Duke of Cumberland's army, in their camp at Nairn.

Exhausted with hunger, and worn out with the excessive fatigue of the three last nights, as soon as we reached Culloden

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"At first nobody seemed to relish this proposal; and the Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond expressed their dislike of it. Lochiel, who was not a man of many words, said that the army would be stronger next day by 1500 men at least; but when Lord George Murray rose and seconded the proposal made by Charles, insisting and enlarging upon the advantage of a night-attack, that rendered cannon and cavalry (in which the superiority of the Duke's army chiefly consisted) of little service, it was agreed to make the attempt, as the best thing that could be done in their present circumstances, for they were almost entirely destitute both of money and provisions.

"When the officers went to their regiments they found that a great number of soldiers had gone to Inverness, and places adjacent, to procure provisions. Officers were sent from every regiment to bring the men back; but they refused to come, bidding the officers shoot them if they pleased, for they would not come back till they had got some food. This happened between six and seven o'clock in the evening; and, as the army was to march at eight, the absence of so many men seemed to put an end to the design of a night-attack; but Charles was bent upon making the attack. He made the chiefs and colonels assemble what men they could, and at eight o'clock gave orders to Lord George Murray to march. Lord George put himself at the head of the army, and marched with great alacrity to execute the design of a night-attack, which he himself had formed; and it was to have been executed in the following manner:

"The river Nairn passes within half a mile of Drummossie Muir, (the field of battle,) and runs from that straight east towards the town of Nairn, which stands, as Culloden does, on the north side of the river. Lord George Murray intended to march with the army in a body, till they were past the house of Kilraik, or Kilravock, (ten miles from Culloden, on the direct road to the town of Nairn,) then to divide his troops, and cross the river with the van, (making about one-third of the army,) which he himself commanded, at a place about two miles distant from Nairn, and march on, having two-thirds of the army on the north side, and one-third on the south side of the river, till both of them came near the Duke's camp; then to cross the river again with his own division, and attack the King's army at once, from the south and from the west. This was the plan of the night-attack; which, if it had been executed as it was projected, would, in the opinion of some of the bravest officers in the Duke's army, have proved not a little dangerous.

I turned off as fast as I could to Inverness, where, eager to recruit my strength by a little sleep, I tore off my clothes, half

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"The Highland army marched from Culloden in a column, or rather in a long line of march, with an interval in the middle, as if there were two columns, one following the other.

"Lord George Murray marched in the front of the first column, at the head of the Athol brigade. Lord John Drummond was in the rear of that division or column; Charles and the Duke of Perth were in the interval between the two columns, that is, in the centre of the line of march. Two officers, and between twenty or thirty men of the Mackintosh regiment, who knew the road very well, for they lived in that part of the country, were distributed along the line as guides.

"Soon after the Highlanders left Culloden it grew very dark, and as they kept no road, that they might avoid some houses on the highway to Nairn, they were obliged to march through some very wet and deep ground, which retarded them much, especially those that were in the rear: they had not marched far, when a messenger came up to the front, desiring that the van should halt, for the other column was a great way behind. The van did not halt, but an order was given for the men to march slower; notwithstanding this order, the rear still lost ground, and many messengers were sent, insisting that the van should halt and wait for them.

"While they proceeded in this manner, a great deal of time was lost, and the night was far spent before they reached Kilravock.

"The Highlanders had passed the house and wood of Kilravock, and the van of their army was about a mile from the place where Lord George Murray intended to cross the river, when Lord John Drummond, who had often come up before and whispered Lord George Murray to order a halt, came up again, and said aloud to Lord George, "Why will you go on? there is a gap in the line half a mile long; the men won't come up;" Lord George Murray ordered a halt.

"Lochiel, whose regiment marched next to the Athol brigade, came up to the front, and joining Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, and General Sullivan, with some volunteers, who had marched all night in the front, consulted what was best to be done: they knew, by their repeating-watches, that it was two o'clock in the morning; and, as Nairn was more than three miles off, it was evident from the time they had taken in marching hither, that it would be broad day-light before they could reach Nairn. Lord George Murray said, it was a free parliament, and desired every body to speak, and give their opinion, for they were all equally concerned.

asleep all the while; but when I had already one leg in the bed, and was on the point of stretching myself between the sheets,

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"Most of them did speak, but they differed in opinion. Some advised a retreat, as day-light was so near, and they could not expect to surprise the enemy. Others declared themselves for marching on to Nairn. Lord George Murray, provoked that his favourite design of a night-attack was frustrated, joined those who advised a retreat, and answered every person who spoke for going on, of whom the most determined was Mr. Hepburn, who urged Lord George Murray to lose no time, but order the men to march on to Nairn as fast as they could. While Mr. Hepburn was speaking, a drum beat; — 'Don't you hear,' said Lord George, 'the enemy are alarmed; we can't surprise them.' 'I never expected,' said Mr. Hepburn, 'to find them asleep; but it is much better to march on and attack them, than to retreat, for they will most certainly follow, and oblige us to fight when we shall be in a much worse condition to fight them than we are now.

"During this altercation between Lord George Murray and Mr. Hepburn, John Hay, (then acting as secretary,) came up, and hearing what they said, immediately rode back to Charles, who was in the centre of the line of march, and told him that unless he came to the front and ordered Lord George Murray to go on, nothing would be done. Charles, who was on horseback, set out instantly, and riding pretty fast met the Highland army marching back to Culloden. extremely incensed, and said 'Lord George Murray had betrayed him.'"

Such is the account given by Mr. Home.

Lord George, in a letter to Mr. Hamilton of Bangour, dated the 5th of August, 1749, published by Mr. Home in his Appendix, says, that it was the opinion of himself and all the chiefs who were present at the quarters of the Prince on the 15th, that they should retire to a strong ground on the other side of the water of Nairn, where, if the Duke of Cumberland attacked them, they would be able to give a good account of him; and, if he did not venture to cross that water, and come up to them there, they proposed (if no opportunity offered of attacking him to advantage) to retire further, and draw him up to the mountains, where he might be attacked at some pass or strong ground; that the ground on the other side of the water, was surveyed by Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Carr that day, who returned about three o'clock with a report confirming the account of the strength of the situation; but, notwithstanding this it was determined not to take that ground, but to wait the enemy in the plain moor. The Prince had declared, two days before, he was resolved to attack the enemy without waiting for those who were to join them,

what was my surprise to hear the drum beat to arms, and the trumpets of the piquet of Fitzjames sounding the call to boot

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(the expression was, had he but a thousand men he would attack them,) and it was only after the rejection of the proposition to retire across the Nairn, that the night-attack and surprising the enemy was agreed on, with a view to avoid fighting on that plain moor. He was only, however, for the night-attack if it could be made before two in the morning, so as to surprise the enemy; in which case alone any hopes of success could reasonably be entertained. Betwixt six and seven in the evening, a little before the march should have begun, the men went off, on all hands, to shift for themselves both for provisions and quarters, (Lord George *was positive* to the number of 2000 men,) and the officers who were sent after them could not bring them back; and there was not then one officer who did not declare himself in the strongest terms for laying aside the resolution of surprising the enemy; but though it was by that time eight o'clock, or past it, the Prince continued bent on the thing, and gave Lord George orders to march. When the van, after slackening their course several times for the rear, was at last obliged to halt for it at two o'clock in the morning, it was full four miles distant from Nairn; and all the principal officers, considering that they could not, even by a quick march, advance *two miles* before day-break; that they must be for two miles in the enemy's sight before they could come at them; and they had not half of the men then that had been drawn up the day before, agreed that it was expedient to march back with as much expedition as possible. Mr. O'Sullivan came up to the front and said, His Royal Highness would be very glad to have the attack made; but, as Lord George Murray was in the van, he could best judge whether it could be done in time or not. As the Prince was a mile back, and there was no way in the dark to ride through the wood but by the line, it would have been a work of considerable time to send backwards and forwards, and he deemed it advisable to begin the retreat without waiting for the orders of the Prince. Whatever may be the rule in a regular army, it had all along been the practice in their army, that at critical junctures the commanding officers did every thing of their own accord which they conceived to be for the best. At Gladsmuir, he neither received nor waited for orders, from the time he passed the defile till the battle was over; and, in like manner, at Clifton, notwithstanding positive orders from the Prince to retreat, it having been agreed on by himself and the officers who were with him that to retreat when the enemy were within less than musket-shot would be very dangerous, and that to save themselves from destruction they had nothing for it but a brisk attack, after receiving the enemy's fire they went

and saddle, which struck me like a clap of thunder. I hurried on my clothes, my eyes half shut, and, mounting a horse, I in-

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in sword in hand, and dislodged them, and then retreated in good order. At the battle of Falkirk he never received an order or message from the Prince after he passed the water at Dunipace, till the battle was over.

The account of this retreat, given by John Hay, the occasional secretary, is as follows:—

"At the halt, *which was the last of a good many*, Hay came up, and heard Lord George Murray arguing against going on, particularly with Hepburn of Keith. He immediately rode back to Charles, who was in the rear of the first column, and told him, that if he did not come to the front of the army, and order Lord George Murray to go on, there would be nothing done. Charles, who was on horseback, set out immediately, and, riding pretty fast, met the Highlanders marching back. He was extremely incensed, and said '*Lord George Murray had betrayed him.*'"

When Charles himself was applied to, many years afterwards, for the purpose of ascertaining from him whether Lord George Murray began the retreat without orders, he answered: "Lord George Murray led the van of the army in the night-march, and *M. le Comte* (the Prince) marched in the rear. Upon the army's halting, *M. le Comte* rode up to the front to enquire the occasion of the halt. Upon his arrival, Lord George Murray convinced *M. le Comte* of the unavoidable necessity of retreating."

That Lord George Murray retreated without orders from the Prince is evident enough; but he did not retreat without the concurrence of the chiefs and officers; and he had never, in critical conjunctures, waited for orders from the Prince to determine in what manner he should act. The presence of the Prince in the expedition might, for various reasons, be of great advantage to it; but it is evident, from the imbecility of his character, and his complete ignorance of military affairs, that he was utterly unfit to direct any operation whatever, and that his interference could hardly ever fail to be attended with detriment, as it was in ordering the night-attack under such unfavourable circumstances. It is quite enough, for the justification of Lord George Murray, that, at the time the retreat was determined on, it was the best measure which the army could adopt; for it requires very little knowledge of military matters to be able to pronounce, that there was every reason for anticipating certain destruction from an advance against the enemy. The conduct of Lord George on this occasion, was, as we learn from a letter from a rebel

stantly repaired to our army, on the eminence on which we had remained for three days, and from which we saw the English

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officer, published in the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 533, approved of by the Duke of Perth, the Duke of Athol, (Marquis of Tullibardine,) Lord John Drummond, Lord Ogilvie, Colonel Stuart of Ardshiel, Colonel John Roy Stuart, Lord Nairn, and all the principal officers who were present at Ruthven in Badenoch, two days after the battle of Culloden; and, from the circumstances there detailed, we cannot doubt the writer's accuracy.

It may appear surprising, that Charles should have so far forgotten what took place on this retreat as to say, that he rode up to the front, and that on his arrival Lord George Murray convinced him of the unavoidable necessity of retreating. Mr. Home observes on this, "That no person who does not commit to writing an account of events which he has seen can be certain, when some years have passed, not only of what happened in his presence, but even of what he himself did or said." But though this may apply to particulars of minor importance, there are circumstances which men forget only with the loss of memory itself; and the part which a man of any elevation of mind acted on so critical an occasion, is one of the circumstances which he would hardly ever forget. But all men do not possess this elevation of mind. Mr. Home, in supposing a general liability to forget all events whatever, does not seem to have reflected on the laws by which our memory is regulated. Our remembrance of an event depends on the impression it has made on us; from difference of character and disposition one event produces an impression on one man, and is consequently remembered by him, which produces none upon another, and is forgotten by him: and a failure or success, in some petty object, will be as intensely felt by a weak man, as the failure or success in a great enterprise is felt by a man of a more serious and manly character.

John Hay, on whose authority Mr. Home makes Charles say, that Lord George Murray had betrayed him, seems to have been one of those silly, but noxious, creatures by whom, from a natural attraction, weak princes are usually surrounded. Mr. Home ought to have stated nothing on the authority of such a man, which was not confirmed by others. If Charles was extremely incensed, and exclaimed that Lord George had betrayed him, he seems to have soon changed his mind; for a rebel officer, whose account of the events at Inverness and Culloden is given in the Lockhart Papers, after detailing the heroic conduct of Lord George at the battle of Culloden, says, that the Prince, on being told that he was thrown from

army at the distance of about two miles from us. They appeared at first disposed to encamp in the position where they then were, many of their tents being already erected; but all at once their tents disappeared, and we immediately perceived them in movement towards us. The view of our army, making preparations for battle, probably induced the Duke of Cumberland to change his plan; and, indeed, he must have been blind in the extreme to have delayed attacking us instantly, in the deplorable situation in which we were, worn out with hunger and fatigue; especially when he perceived, from our manœuvre, that we were impatient to give battle, under every possible disadvantage, and well disposed to facilitate our own destruction. The Duke of Cumberland remained ignorant, till it was day, of the danger to which he had been exposed during the night *; and as soon as he knew it, he broke up his camp, and followed us closely.

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his horse in the action, but was not, however, seriously hurt, desired this officer, in presence of all present, to find him and to take particular care of him, "which is to be presumed he would not have done, if he *had had the least suspicion* of what has been laid to his charge by his enemies;" and therefore the writer concluded, "whatever sentiments they were pleased to say the Prince had of him, was scarce to be credited."

We shall conclude this note with the following particulars in a letter in the Lockhart Papers, explanatory of the delay in the march. "The Highlanders," it is said, "had often made very quick marches in the night-time; the French picquets were, I believe, in the rear, *and were not so clever in marching*; the moor that they went through was more splashy than they expected, and they were obliged to make some turns to shun houses, and there were two or three defiles that took up a good deal of time to pass."

* The Duke had certain information of the night-march: and spies, who spoke the Gaelic language, and wore the Highland dress, mixed with the rebels as they marched; but none of these spies knew any thing of the intended attack, and it is believed the Duke supposed that the rebels intended only to approach his camp, take their ground in the night, and attack him in the morning, for the soldiers were ordered to lie down to rest, with their arms by them.

The Prince, on his return to Culloden, enraged against Lord George Murray, publicly declared, that no one in future should command his army but himself.* As soon as the English army began to appear, the Prince, who was always eager to give battle, without reflecting on the consequences, was told that, as the Highlanders were exhausted with fatigue, dispersed, and buried in deep sleep, in the neighbouring hamlets and inclosures, many could not possibly be present in the battle, from the difficulty of finding them. Besides, what could be expected from men in their situation, worn out with want of sleep and food, and quite exhausted with this night-march, a thousand times worse than any march which had been made in England? They were not possessed of supernatural strength. He was advised to fall back on the high ground, behind the plain, having his left supported by the ruins of the Castle, where he could place his cannon to advantage, as on batteries, whilst he could at the same time occupy Inverness, and allow his army to refresh themselves and obtain some sleep. By allowing them twenty-four hours' repose, it was said, they would be quite recruited, and altogether new men. In such an advantageous position, by throwing up an entrenchment to cover Inverness, there was no reason to fear an immediate attack from the Duke of Cumberland, should he examine our position with attention; but if the Duke ventured to attack us notwithstanding, he could not fail to pay dear for his temerity. We might, therefore, calculate on remaining tranquil in this position for some days, and the delay would give time to

* Had Prince Charles slept during the whole of the expedition, and allowed Lord George to act for him, according to his own judgment, there is every reason for supposing he would have found the crown of Great Britain on his head, when he awoke. — *Note of the Author.*

those who were absent on leave to join the army. The Prince, however, would listen to no advice, and resolved on giving battle, let the consequences be what they might. *

The ground in the hollow, between the Castle of Culloden and an inclosure on our right, being marshy and covered with water, which reached half way up the leg, was well chosen to protect us from the cavalry of the enemy. The English were drawn up in three lines, but we had much difficulty in forming two. Our second line was composed of the Irish piquets, with the regiments of Royal Scots, Kilmarnock, Lord Lewis Gordon, the Duke of Perth, Lord Ogilvie, Glenbucket, and John Roy Stuart; of which the two last, and that of Lord Kilmarnock consisted only of from two to three hundred men each. When the English army was on a line with the inclosure, about six or eight hundred yards from the eminence behind the swamp, our army descended, with great rapidity, into the marshy ground, and

*. The Duke's army was seen, by the rebels, advancing in full march towards them, an hour or two after their return from Kilravock, and it was surely too late to think of throwing up entrenchments, when the enemy was in sight. It does not appear that Inverness could be protected in any other manner than by fighting the Duke's army on the plain moor. Lord George Murray says, this measure was resolved on, because it was "resolved not to abandon Inverness." When it was ascertained, the day before, that there was a strong ground on the other side of the water of Nairn, where the Duke might be set at defiance, "It was determined," says Lord George, "not to take that ground, as perhaps the enemy *might pass on to Inverness without attacking us.*" To this strong ground the rebels could have retreated "when the enemy were even in sight." We have already quoted an opinion of Mr. Patullo to the same purpose. "Why what I have now mentioned was not performed," adds Lord George, "let them answer who were determined against a hill campaign, as they called it. What I can aver is, that myself and most of the clans, at least all those I spoke with, were for this operation; and His Royal Highness could have supported the fatigue as well as any person in the army. It's true Sir Thomas Sheridan, &c. could not have undergone it: *so we were obliged to be undone for their ease.*"

charged the enemy sword in hand. The Prince, who remained on the eminence with the piquet of Fitzjames, out of reach of the musketry of the enemy, observed them employed in throwing down the walls of the inclosure to attack us in flank, and immediately sent repeated orders to Lord George Murray, whilst he was at the head of the first line, and ready to fall upon the enemy, to place some troops in the inclosure *, and prevent the manœuvre of the English, which could not fail to prove fatal to us. Lord George paid no attention to this order; and the English having finished throwing down the walls of the inclosure, entered with two regiments of cavalry, and four pieces of artillery, which they fired with grape-shot on our right wing. Their fire, from the circumstance of their being quite close to our right, was so terrible, that it literally swept away, at once, whole ranks. From the inequality of this marshy ground, our right and centre came first up with the enemy, our first line advancing a little obliquely; but, over-powered by a murderous fire in front and flank, our right could not maintain its ground, and was obliged to give way, whilst our centre had already broken the enemy's first line, and attacked the second. The left wing, where I was with Scothouse, was not twenty paces from the enemy, who gave their first fire at the moment the flight began to become general, which spread

* Troops *were* stationed in the inclosure. General Bland, who commanded the Duke's cavalry on the left, ordered two companies of the Argyleshire men, and one company of Lord Loudon's regiment, to break down the east wall of the inclosure; and, having pulled it down, they entered with the dragoons, and put to the sword about 100 men, who had been posted there. In a memoir by a Highland officer in the second volume of the Lockhart Papers, p. 521. it is said, "When the attack began, the Campbells threw down a great part of the wall of the inclosure, for the dragoons, on the Duke's left, to pass to the rear of the Prince's army, which they did without receiving one shot from the two battalions that were placed to obsreve their motions."

from the right to the left of our army with the rapidity of lightning. What a spectacle of horror! The same Highlanders, who had advanced to the charge like lions, with bold, determined countenances, were, in an instant, seen flying like trembling cowards, in the greatest disorder. It may be said of the attack of the Highlanders, that it bears great resemblance to that of the French; that it is a flame, the violence of which is more to be dreaded than the duration. No troops, however excellent, are possessed of qualities which will render them constantly invincible. It was evident our destruction became inevitable, if the English got possession of the inclosure. The Prince saw this from the eminence where he was posted, and sent his aid-de-camp six or seven times, ordering Lord George to take possession of it. He saw that his orders were not executed; but yet he never quitted his place on the eminence. This, however, was a critical moment, when he ought to have displayed the courage of a grenadier, by immediately advancing to put himself at the head of his army, and commanding himself those manœuvres which he wished to be executed. He would never have experienced disobedience on the part of his subjects, who had exposed their lives and fortunes to establish him on the throne of his ancestors, and who would have shed for him the last drop of their blood. There are occasions when a general ought to expose his person, and not remain beyond the reach of musketry; and surely there never was a more pressing occasion for disregarding a few shots than the one in question, as the gain or loss of the battle depended on it. In the desperate expedition on which he had entered, though it was proper that he should guard against danger, he ought to have done so in a manner which showed that life or death was equally indifferent to him, conducting himself

with valour and prudence, according to circumstances. But he was surrounded by Irish confidents, whose baseness of soul corresponded to the obscurity of their birth. The natives of Ireland are generally supposed, in England, to have a great confusion of ideas; and they are, in general, very bad counsellors. But the Prince blindly adopted their opinions. Yet he combated for a crown, and was consequently more interested in our success than any man in the army; while the Scots had no other object in view than to obviate the effect of their rashness in having voluntarily exposed themselves to death on the scaffold, and confiscation of their estates.

As far as I could distinguish, at the distance of twenty paces, the English appeared to be drawn up in six ranks; the three first being on their knees. They kept up a terrible running fire on us. My unfortunate friend Scothouse was killed by my side; I was not so deeply affected at the moment of his fall, as I have been ever since. It would almost seem as if the Power that presides over the lives of men in battles, marks out the most deserving for destruction, and spares those who are more unworthy. Military men, susceptible of friendship, are much to be pitied. The melancholy fate of my friends has often cost me many a tear, and left on my heart an indelible impression of pain and regret. Mr. Macdonald of Keppoch, who had been absent on leave with his clan, having made great haste to join the Prince, arrived at the moment of the charge, and in time to take his station in the first line, with his clan, where he was instantly killed. He was a gentleman of uncommon merit, and his death was universally lamented. *

* The manner in which Macdonald of Keppoch conducted himself when he met his fate, is highly honourable to his memory, while it has often been made

As the Highlanders were completely exhausted with hunger, fatigue, and the want of sleep, our defeat did not at all surprise

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a subject of reproach to the Macdonalds, by whom he was abandoned. The three Macdonald regiments were stationed on the extreme left, and went off without striking a blow, when, as our author says, they were within twenty paces of the enemy, though they had drawn their swords for the attack. "When the Macdonald regiments retreated," says Mr. Home, "*without having attempted to attack, sword in hand,* Macdonald of Keppoch advanced with his drawn sword in one hand, and his pistol in the other: he had got but a little way from his regiment, when he was wounded by a musket-shot and fell. A friend, who had followed, conjuring him not to throw his life away, said that the wound was not mortal, that he might easily join his regiment and retreat with them. Keppoch desired him to take care of himself, and going on, received another shot and fell to rise no more."

This misconduct on the part of the Macdonalds, was chiefly occasioned by a circumstance, which, though it may appear of a very trivial nature in our eyes, was capable of kindling the fiercest rage in the bosoms of Highlanders; they were stationed on the *left* instead of the *right* of the army. A Macdonald officer, present in the battle of Culloden, has, in a Narrative, in the second volume of the Lockhart Papers, p. 510., delivered the following curious observations on this subject:—"Add to this, what we of the clan Macdonalds thought ominous, we had not this day the right hand in battle as formerly, and as we enjoyed in the enterprise when the event proved successful, as at Gladsmuir and Falkirk, and which our clan maintains we had enjoyed in all our battles and struggles in behalf of our royal family since the battle of Bannockburn, on which glorious day Robert the Bruce bestowed this honour upon Angus Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, (called by Barbour *Angus off Ile,*) as a reward for his never-to-be-forgot fidelity to that brave Prince, in protecting him for above nine months in his country of Rachlin, Isla, and Uist, as the same has since been done to his royal successor. This right we have, I say, enjoyed ever since, unless when yielded by us out of favour upon particular occasions, as was done to the Laird of Maclean at the battle of Harlaw; but our sweet-natured P. was prevailed on by L., and his faction, to assign this honour to another on this fatal day, which right, we judge, they will not refuse to yield us back again *next fighting-day.*" The Duke of Perth stood in the battle, at the head of the Glengary regiment; and, hearing the loud murmurs of the men, said, if the Macdonalds behaved with their usual valour, they would make a right of the left, and he would call himself Macdonald. But all this, it seems, proved unavailing.

me; I was only astonished to see them behave so well. If our right could only have maintained its ground three minutes longer, the English army, which was very much shaken, would have been still more so by the shock of our left wing, which was yet at the distance of from fifteen to twenty paces from the enemy, when the disorder began on the right; and if our centre, which had pierced the first line, had been properly supported, it is highly probable that the English would have been soon put to flight. There were about twelve hundred men killed upon the field of battle; and, of that number, there were as many of the enemy as of the Highlanders. Thus our loss was by no means considerable. *.

The right wing of our army retreated towards the river Nairn, and met in their way a body of English cavalry, which appeared as much embarrassed as the Highlanders; but the English commander very wisely opened a way for them in the centre, and allowed them to pass at the distance of a pistol shot, without attempting to molest them or to take prisoners. One officer only of this body, wishing to take a Highlander prisoner, advanced a few paces to seize him, but the Highlander brought him down with his sword, and killed him on the spot; and, not satisfied with this, he stopt long enough to take possession of his watch, and then decamped with the booty. The English commander remained a quiet spectator of the scene, renewed his orders to his men not to quit their ranks, and could not help smiling and

* A list of the killed and wounded of the royal army, published by authority, makes the number amount only to 310, officers included. No regular account was ever published by the rebels of their loss in this battle; and it is impossible to ascertain the exact amount of it. The newspapers and magazines of that day made the number two or three thousand: a ridiculous exaggeration. Other accounts, agreeing with that of our author, made it less than one thousand.

secretly wishing the Highlander might escape, on account of his boldness, without appearing to lament the fate of the officer, who had disobeyed his orders. If this body of cavalry had not acted so prudently, they would instantly have been cut to pieces. It is extremely dangerous in a defeat to attempt to cut off the vanquished from all means of escape.

Our left, which fled towards Inverness, was less fortunate. Having been pursued by the English cavalry, the road from Culloden to that town was every where strewed with dead bodies. The Duke of Cumberland had the cruelty to allow our wounded to remain amongst the dead on the field of battle, stript of their clothes, from Wednesday, the day of our unfortunate engagement, till three o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, when he sent detachments to kill all those who were still in life; and a great many, who had resisted the effects of the continual rains which fell all that time, were then dispatched. He ordered a barn, which contained many of the wounded Highlanders, to be set on fire; and, having stationed soldiers round it, they with fixed bayonets drove back the unfortunate men who attempted to save themselves into the flames, burning them alive in this horrible manner, as if they had not been fellow-creatures.

This sanguinary Duke was obliged to have an act of indemnity, from the British Parliament, for these and a number of similar acts which he had committed, in violation of the laws of Great Britain. Cruelty is a proof of a base and cowardly disposition.

As soon as the Prince saw his army begin to give way, he made his escape with a few horsemen of Fitzjames's piquet. Some hours after the battle, Lord Elcho found him in a cabin, beside the river Nairn, surrounded by Irish, and without a single

Scotsman near him, in a state of complete dejection, without the least hopes of being able to re-establish his affairs, having given himself altogether up to the pernicious counsels of Sheridan, and the other Irish who governed him as they pleased, and abandoned every other project, but that of escaping to France, as soon as possible. Lord Elcho represented to him that this check was nothing, as was really the case; and exerted himself to the utmost to persuade him to think only of rallying his army, putting himself at its head, and trying, once more, the fortune of war, as the disaster might be easily repaired; but he was insensible to all that his lordship could suggest, and utterly disregarded his advice.

I arrived, on the 18th, at Ruthven, which happened, by chance, to become the rallying point of our army, without having been previously fixed on. There I found the Duke of Athol, Lord George Murray, the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lord Ogilvie, and many other chiefs of clans, with about four or five thousand Highlanders, all in the best possible dispositions for renewing hostilities and taking their revenge. The little town of Ruthven is about eight leagues * from Inverness, by a road through the mountains, very narrow, full of tremendously high precipices, where there are several passes which a hundred men could defend against ten thousand, by merely rolling down rocks from the summit of the mountains.

Lord George immediately dispatched people to guard the passes, and at the same time sent off an aide-de-camp to inform the Prince, that a great part of his army was assembled at Ruthven; that the Highlanders were full of animation and

* Ruthven is hardly the half of that distance from Inverness.

ardour, and eager to be led against the enemy; that the Grants, and other Highland clans, who had, till then, remained neuter, were disposed to declare themselves in his favour, seeing the inevitable destruction of their country from the proximity of the victorious army of the Duke of Cumberland; that all the clans, who had received leave of absence, would assemble there in the course of a few days; and that, instead of five or six thousand men *, the whole of the number present at the battle of Culloden, from the absence of those who had returned to their homes and of those who had left the army on reaching Culloden, on the morning of the 16th, to go to sleep, he might count upon eight or nine thousand men at least, a greater number than he had had at any time in his army. Every body earnestly intreated the Prince to come immediately, and put himself at the head of this force.

We passed the 19th at Ruthven, without any news from the Prince. All the Highlanders were cheerful, and full of spirits to a degree perhaps never before witnessed in an army so recently

* This account of the number of the rebels at Culloden agrees with that given by M. Patullo, and by Mr. Home on his authority. The number on paper was 8000, but 3000 were absent. Lord Cromarty was in Sutherland with his own regiment, and Glengyle, Mackinnon, Barrisdale, and their men; Clunie, with his Macphersons, was on his march to Culloden when the battle was fought. Besides these regiments and considerable bodies of troops, a number of men, after the return, had gone to Inverness in quest of food, and were not returned when the King's army came in sight. The effective rank and file of the royal army, by the last return previous to the battle, was 7179. This, with the proper allowance for non-commissioned officers, &c. would make the total exceed 8000. But in the army-returns of that time the militia were never included; and, besides part of Lord Loudon's regiment, a numerous militia from Argyleshire took an active part in the operations of the 16th. Nothing, therefore, but the fears of the country could have magnified the defeat of 5000 Highlanders, worn out by fatigue and hunger, by nearly double the number of fresh and well-appointed troops, into a *glorious* victory.

beaten, expecting, with impatience, every moment the arrival of the Prince; but, on the 20th, Mr. Macleod, Lord George's aide-de-camp, who had been sent to him, returned with the following laconic answer;—"Let every man seek his safety in the best way he can:"—an inconsiderate answer, heart-breaking to the brave men who had sacrificed themselves for him. However critical our situation, the Prince ought not to have despaired. On occasions when every thing is to be feared, we ought to lay aside fear; when we are surrounded with dangers, no danger ought to alarm us. With the best plans we may fail in our enterprises; but the firmness we display in misfortune is the noblest ornament of virtue. This is the manner in which a Prince ought to have conducted himself, who, with an unexampled rashness, landed in Scotland with only seven men.

We were masters of the passes between Ruthven and Inverness, which gave us sufficient time to assemble our adherents. The clan of Macpherson of Clunie, consisting of five hundred very brave men, besides many other Highlanders, who had not been able to reach Inverness before the battle, joined us at Ruthven; so that our numbers increased every moment, and I am thoroughly convinced that, in the course of eight days, we should have had a more powerful army than ever, capable of re-establishing, without delay, the state of our affairs, and of avenging the barbarous cruelties of the Duke of Cumberland. But the Prince was inexorable and immoveable in his resolution of abandoning his enterprise, and terminating in this inglorious manner an expedition, the rapid progress of which had fixed the attention of all Europe. Unfortunately, he had nobody to advise with but Sir Thomas Sheridan, and other Irishmen, who were altogether ignorant of the nature and resources of the country, and the character of the

Highlanders; and who had nothing to lose, but, on the contrary, a great deal to gain on arriving in France, where several of them have since laid the foundations of their fortunes. *

Our separation at Ruthven was truly affecting. We bade one another an eternal adieu. No one could tell whether the scaffold would not be his fate. The Highlanders gave vent to their grief in wild howlings and lamentations; the tears flowed down their cheeks when they thought that their country was now at the discretion of the Duke of Cumberland, and on the point of being plundered; whilst they and their children would be reduced to

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* Mr. Andrew Lumisden, a gentleman of the highest character, author of Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome, attended Charles during the whole battle, and was one of those that went to Ruthven. He gave an account of the message from Charles, agreeing in substance with that of our author. It is certain that a stand was made for several days at Ruthven, and that the remains of the army dispersed in consequence of the refusal of Charles to join them.

This tallies exactly with the character of Charles, given by Lord Marischal, Helvetius, Dr. King, Alfieri, and all who had opportunities of knowing any thing of him. He is uniformly represented as a compound of rashness, irresolution, ingratitude, meanness, and want of feeling. The circumstances stated by Dr. King, and Alfieri, in particular, prove him to have been one of the least amiable, nay most worthless of men. Yet every virtue and accomplishment were attributed to him by the credulous Highlanders, who were never tired of expatiating on the goodness of their *sweet-natured Prince.* This we can account for: but how are we to account for the Author of Waverley, to whom the character of Charles could be no secret, exerting all the powers of his great genius to uphold the illusion? "The generous, the courteous, the noble-minded Adventurer," are the terms in which he speaks of the Prince. Surely the epithet *noble-minded* was never more misapplied, than when bestowed on a man for whom the best excuse that has yet been offered, for his leaving the field without going near his army at a critical moment, was that, Sir Thomas Sheridan earnestly entreated him not to do so, and Mr. Sullivan laid hold of the bridle of his horse *and turned him about.* Do vices change their nature when they are found in a Prince? Or must our pity for an unfortunate family go so far as to induce us to poison the stream of history?

slavery, and plunged, without resource, into a state of remediless distress.

An accident which took place at Inverness, some days after the battle, might have proved very advantageous to us, if the Prince had joined us at Ruthven. A young gentleman of the name of Forbes, related to Lord Forbes, and a cadet in an English regiment, having abandoned his colours to join the Prince, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, and was hanged at Inverness, without any distinction, amongst the other deserters. Whilst the body of Forbes was still suspended from the gibbet, a brutal and vulgar English officer plunged his sword into his body, and swore that "*all his countrymen were traitors and rebels like himself.*" A Scots officer, who heard the impertinence of this Englishman, immediately drew his sword, and demanded satisfaction for the insult done to his country; and, whilst they fought, all the officers took part in the quarrel, and swords were drawn in every direction. The soldiers, at the same time, of their own accord, beat to arms, drew up along the streets, the Scots on one side and the English on the other, beginning a very warm combat with fixed bayonets. The Duke of Cumberland happening to be out of town, information was immediately conveyed to him, and he hastened to the scene of action before this warfare had made much progress. He addressed himself immediately to the Scots, whom he endeavoured to mollify by the high compliments he paid them. He told them that, whenever he had had the honour of commanding them, he had always experienced their fidelity and attachment to his family, as well as their courage and exemplary conduct: and he succeeded at length in appeasing them.

Thus did Prince Charles begin his enterprise with seven men,

and abandon it at a moment he might have been at the head of as many thousands: preferring to wander up and down the mountains alone, exposed every instant to be taken and put to death by detachments of the English troops, sent by the Duke of Cumberland in pursuit of him, and who followed him closely, often passed quite near him, and from whom he escaped as if by miracle, to putting himself at the head of a body of brave and determined men, of whose fidelity and attachment he was secure, and all of whom would have shed the last drop of their blood in his defence. Indeed this was now the only means of saving themselves from the scaffold, and their families from being slaughtered by a furious, enraged, and barbarous soldiery. The Highlands are full of precipices, and passes through mountains, where only one person can proceed at a time, and where a thousand men can defend themselves against a hundred thousand, for years; and as it abounds with horned cattle, of which they sell above one hundred thousand yearly to the English, provisions would not have been wanting. * But this partisan warfare it would only have been necessary to adopt as a last resource; for I am morally certain that, in the course of ten or twelve days, we should have been in a condition to return to Inverness, and fight the Duke of Cumberland on equal terms. Whenever I reflect on this subject, I am always astonished that Lord George Murray, and the other chiefs of clans, did not resolve to carry on this mountain-warfare themselves, for their own defence; as nothing can be more certain than what was said by a

* Lord George Murray says, on this subject, "As to provisions, had I been allowed to have any direction, we would not have wanted (though perhaps not the best) for years, as long as there were cattle in the Highlands, or meal in the Lowlands."

celebrated author, that, in a revolt, "When we draw the sword we ought to throw away the scabbard." There is no medium; we must conquer or die. This would have spared much of the blood which was afterwards shed on the scaffold in England, and would have prevented the almost total extermination of the race of Highlanders, which has since taken place, either from the policy of the English government, the emigration of their families to the colonies, or from the numerous Highland regiments which have been raised, and which have been often cut to pieces, and renewed, during the last war.

Prince Charles, for several months, was hotly pursued by detachments of English troops; and so very near were they frequently to him, that he had scarcely quitted a place before they arrived at it. Sometimes he was wholly surrounded by them. The Duke of Cumberland never failed to say to the commanders of these detachments, at the moment of their departure, "Make no prisoners: you understand me." They had particular instructions to stab the Prince, if he fell into their hands; but Divine Wisdom frustrated the atrocious and barbarous designs and pursuits of the sanguinary Duke, whose officers and their detachments, his executioners, inflicted more cruelties on the brave but unfortunate Highlanders, than would have been committed by the most ferocious savages of Canada. The generous and heroic action of Mr. Roderick Mackenzie contributed greatly to save the Prince from those blood-thirsty assassins.

Mr. Mackenzie, a gentleman of good family in Scotland, had served, during the whole expedition, in the life-guards of Prince Charles. He was of the Prince's size, and, to those who were not accustomed to see them together, might seem to resemble him a little. Mackenzie happened to be in a cabin with the

Prince, and two or three other persons, when, all of a sudden, they received information that they were surrounded by detachments of English troops, advancing from every point, as if they had received positive information that the Prince was in this cabin. The Prince was asleep at this moment, and was awaked for the purpose of being informed of his melancholy fate, namely, that it was morally impossible for him to save his life. He answered, "Then we must die like brave men, with swords in our hands." — "No, my Prince," replied Mackenzie; "resources still remain; I will take your name, and face one of these detachments. I know what my fate will be; but whilst I occupy it, your Royal Highness will have time to escape." Mackenzie darted forward with fury, sword in hand, against a detachment of fifty men, and on falling, covered with wounds, he exclaimed aloud, "You know not what you have done! — I am your Prince, whom you have killed!" after which he instantly expired. They cut off his head, and carried it, without delay, to the Duke of Cumberland, nobody doubting that it was the head of Prince Charles. And the barbarous Duke, having now, as he thought, obtained the head of the Prince, the great object of his wishes, set off next day for London, with this head packed up, in his post-chaise.

The depositions of several persons in London, who affirmed that this was the head of Prince Charles, had the good effect of rendering the English less vigilant, and less active in their pursuits. Before that event, they had formed a chain from Inverary to Inverness, and the Prince had frequently escaped, with great risk, having been obliged to cross the chain between their detachments. Mr. Morison, his valet-de-chambre, was then in the prison of Carlisle, condemned to death; and the government

dispatched a messenger to suspend the execution of the sentence, and bring him to London, to declare, upon oath, whether this really were the head of Prince Charles; but Mr. Morison having been attacked on the road with a violent fever, accompanied with delirium, remained in bed at the messenger's house, where he continued a prisoner for fifteen days after his arrival in London; and, when he began to recover, the head was in such a putrid state, that it was judged unnecessary to examine him, as it was no longer possible to distinguish any of the features. Mr. Morison obtained his pardon, and repaired immediately to France, where he still lives.*

At length the Prince embarked, on the 17th of September, on board a vessel which Mr. Welsh of Nantes had fitted out, and sent to Scotland for the express purpose of saving him; and he landed at Morlaix, in the month of October, having escaped death a thousand times, by the assassin's dagger, during the space of five months, and having exposed himself to a thousand times more danger than if he had supported his cause, with courage and perseverance, at the head of his faithful Highlanders, as long as he could hope to make head against the English. He should only, as a last resource, have embraced the resolution of skulking and running about the Highlands, without attendants, after the passes had been forced, and all possibility of opposing the enemy was destroyed. But our situation was not desperate. All that we can say is, that this Prince entered on his expedition rashly, and without foreseeing the personal dangers to which he was about to expose himself; that, in carrying it on, he always

* It is hardly necessary to observe, that this applies to the period when these Memoirs were written.

took care not to expose his person to the fire of the enemy; and that he abandoned it at a time when he had a thousand times more reason to hope for success than when he left Paris to undertake it.

The battle of Culloden, which was lost on the 16th of April, rather from a series of mistakes on our part, than any skilful manœuvre of the Duke of Cumberland, by terminating the expedition of Prince Charles, prepared a scene of unparalleled horrors for his partisans. The ruin of many of the most illustrious families in Scotland immediately followed our defeat. The scaffolds of England were, for a long time, deluged every day with the blood of Scottish gentlemen and peers, whose executions served as a spectacle for the amusement of the English populace, naturally of a cruel and barbarous disposition; whilst the confiscation of their estates reduced their families to beggary. Those who had the good luck to make their escape into foreign countries, were consoled for the loss of their property, in escaping from a tragical death by the hands of the executioner; and considered themselves as very fortunate withal; as His Most Christian Majesty did not merely grant an asylum to the unfortunate Scots, who were the victims of their attachment to their legitimate Prince, but set apart a fund for their subsistence, of forty thousand livres a year, which was distributed to them in pensions. These pensions have been always regularly paid; but the intentions of his Majesty, who destined this fund exclusively for the Scots who were followers of Prince Charles, have not been attended to in its distribution.

As soon as the Duke of Cumberland was certain, from the total dispersion of the Highlanders at Ruthven, that he had no reason to fear their re-appearance with arms in their hands, he divided his army into different detachments, which were ordered

to scour the Highlands, in order to pillage the houses and take prisoners. These detachments, acting as executioners of the Duke of Cumberland, committed the most horrible cruelties; burning the castles of the chiefs of clans, violating their wives and daughters, and making it their amusement to hang up the unfortunate Highlanders who happened to fall into their hands, surpassing in barbarity the most ferocious savages of America. However, the principal object which the Duke had in view, in sending out these detachments, was the seizure of the Prince; and he never failed, in his instructions to the commanders, to enjoin them not to take him a prisoner, but to put him to instant death. Indeed the Court of London would have been greatly embarrassed, had he become their prisoner. The Parliament of England could not have indicted him for treason, as a subject of Great Britain, on account of his undoubted right to the crown.

Orders were, at the same time, transmitted to all the towns and villages along the two arms of the sea between Inverness and Edinburgh, to stop any person without a passport from the Duke of Cumberland or the magistrates of Edinburgh; and also to all the seaports of Great Britain, prohibiting all masters of merchant vessels from receiving any person on board without a passport, or contributing in any manner to the escape of a rebel, (a name they had given to us as we were vanquished, while we should have been heroes had we succeeded,) under pain of high-treason, and of being liable to the same punishment as those who had taken arms. The Duke of Cumberland detached at the same time his cavalry into the Low-country, at the foot of the mountains, to seize all those who might present themselves without passports to cross the first arm of the sea, with orders to send out continual patrols along the coast, and to search all the

towns and villages in the neighbourhood of the sea. In consequence of all these arrangements, it was almost impossible to escape the fury of this sanguinary Duke, who, on account of his excesses and cruelties, unheard of among civilised nations, was held in contempt by all respectable persons in England, even by those who were in no manner partisans of the house of Stuart; and he was ever afterwards known in London by the appellation of "the Butcher."

My friendship for the unfortunate Macdonald of Scothouse, who was killed by my side at the battle of Culloden, had induced me to advance to the charge with his regiment. We were on the left of our army, and at the distance of about twenty paces from the enemy, when the route began to become general, before we had even given our fire on the left. Almost at the same instant that I saw Scothouse fall, the most worthy man I have ever known, and with whom I had been connected, by-the-by, in bonds of the purest friendship from the commencement of our expedition, to add to the horror of the scene, I perceived all the Highlanders around me turning their backs to fly. I remained for a time motionless, and lost in astonishment; I then, in a rage, discharged my blunderbuss and pistols at the enemy, and immediately endeavoured to save myself like the rest; but having charged on foot and in boots, I was so overcome by the marshy ground, the water on which reached to the middle of the leg, that instead of running I could scarcely walk. I had left my servant, Robertson, with my horses, on the eminence, about 600 yards behind us, where the Prince remained during the battle, with orders to remain near the Prince's servants, that I might easily know where to find my horses in case of need. My first object on retreating was to turn my eyes towards the eminence, to discover

Robertson; but it was to no purpose. I neither saw the Prince nor his servants, nor any one on horseback. They had all gone off, and were already out of sight. I saw nothing but the most horrible of all spectacles; the field of battle, from the right to the left of our army, covered with Highlanders, dispersed and flying as fast as they could to save themselves.

Being no longer able to keep myself on my legs, and the enemy always advancing very slowly, but redoubling their fire, my mind was agitated and undecided whether I should throw away my life, or surrender a prisoner, which was a thousand times worse than death on the field of battle. All at once I perceived a horse, about thirty paces before me, without a rider. The idea of being yet able to escape, gave me fresh strength, and served as a spur to me. I ran and laid hold of the bridle, which was fast in the hand of a man lying on the ground, whom I supposed dead; but, what was my surprise, when the cowardly poltroon, who was suffering from nothing but fear, dared to remain in the most horrible fire to dispute the horse with me, at twenty paces from the enemy? All my menaces could not induce him to quit the bridle. Whilst we were disputing, a discharge from a cannon, loaded with grape-shot, fell at our feet, and covered us with mud, without, however, producing any effect upon this singular individual, who obstinately persisted in retaining the horse. Fortunately for me, Finlay Cameron, an officer in Lochiel's regiment, a youth of twenty years of age, six feet high, and very strong and vigorous, happened to pass near us. I called on him to assist me. "Ah! Finlay," said I, "this fellow will not give me up the horse." Finlay flew to me like lightning, immediately presented his pistol to the head of this man, and threatened to blow out his brains if he hesitated a mo-

ment to let go the bridle. The fellow, who had the appearance of a servant, at length yielded, and took to his heels. Having obtained the horse, I attempted to mount him several times; but all my efforts were ineffectual, as I was without strength and completely exhausted. I called again on poor Finlay, though he was already some paces from me, to assist me to mount. He returned, took me in his arms, with as much ease as if I had been a child, and threw me on the horse like a loaded sack, giving the horse at the same time a heavy blow to make him set off with me. Then, wishing that I might have the good fortune to make my escape, he bounded off like a roe, and was in a moment out of sight. We were hardly more than fifteen or twenty paces from the enemy when he quitted me. As soon as I found myself at the distance of thirty or forty paces, I endeavoured to set myself right on the horse, put my feet in the stirrups, and rode off as fast as the wretched animal could carry me.

I was too much indebted to Finlay Cameron not to endeavour continually to ascertain his fate; but all my enquiries were in vain. His conduct, on this occasion, was the more noble and generous, that I never had any particular intimacy with him.

How difficult it is to know men! From the commencement of our expedition, when I was aide-de-camp to Lord George Murray, I perceived that he was of a mild, honourable, and brave character; but he had never shown the least symptom of friendship for me; and yet I was indebted to him, for my life, and he generously risked his own to save me. There is every probability that I also saved the life of the poltroon who held the horse, in rousing him out of his panic-fear; for, in less than two minutes, the English army would have passed over him. The cowardice of this man has often furnished me with matter for reflection;

and I am thoroughly convinced that, for one brave man who perishes in routs, there are ten cowards. The greatness of the danger is increased in the eyes of a coward; it blinds him, deprives him of reflection, and renders him incapable of reasoning with himself respecting his position. He loses the faculty of thinking, with the presence of mind which is necessary in great dangers, and, seeing every thing through a false medium, his stupor costs him both his honour and his life: whilst the man who is truly firm, brave, and determined, sees all the dangers which surround him, but his presence of mind enables him to see at the same time the means of extricating himself; and thus, if any resource remains, he will turn it to account.

As soon as I was out of the reach of the dreadful fire of the infantry, I stopped to breathe a little, and to deliberate as to the resolution I should adopt, and the route I should follow. Whilst our army lay at Inverness, I had frequently been, on parties of pleasure, at the castle of Mr. Grant of Rothiemurchus, which is situated in the midst of the mountains, about six leagues from that town. This worthy man, who was then about fifty years of age, and a delightful companion, took a strong liking for me, and frequently assured me of his friendship, as did also his eldest son, with whom I had been at school, but who was in the service of King George. The father was a partisan of the house of Stuart, but, from prudential motives, did not openly declare himself; and both he and his vassals remained neutral during the whole of our expedition. This castle is situated in one of the most beautiful valleys imaginable; a valley which equals any thing in the most romantic descriptions of the poets. It is on the banks of a very beautiful river, the Spey, which winds through a plain, about a quarter of a

league broad, and two leagues long. Round this plain the mountains rise behind each other in the form of an amphitheatre, the tops of some of them being covered with wood, while others are covered with the most beautiful verdure: it seems as if nature had exhausted herself in forming this charming retreat; for every conceivable description of rural beauty has been lavished on it with the utmost profusion. It enchanted me more than any place I ever saw.

During the two months that our army remained at Inverness, on our return from England, I passed as much of my time as I possibly could at this delightful place, which I always quitted with regret; and I happened to be there when we received information that the Duke of Cumberland had crossed the Spey, in the direction of Elgin, and that he was advancing to Inverness. I immediately set off to join our army, but not without regret to quit so pleasant a place, and the agreeable society of Rothiemurchus, who was a most amiable, mild, honourable and accomplished gentleman, possessed of an even temper, great natural gaiety and wit, and a great fund of good sense and judgment. On taking leave of him, he clasped me in his arms, embraced me tenderly with tears in his eyes, and said, "My dear boy, should your affairs take an unfortunate turn, which may be the case, come straight to my house, as a hiding-place, and I will answer for your safety with my life." His mountains being, in reality, a secure asylum against all the researches of the English troops, I resolved, without hesitation, to take the road to Rothiemurchus, which was on our right from the field of battle; but I had not advanced a hundred paces when I saw a body of English cavalry before me, which barred the way. I then turned back, taking the road to Inverness, which I followed, till I saw from an

eminence, that the bulk of our army were throwing themselves in that direction; from which I judged that the principal pursuit of the enemy would be along the road to Inverness. I therefore quitted also that road, and proceeded straight across the fields, without any other design than that of getting as far from the enemy as possible.

On reaching the banks of the river Ness, a quarter of a league higher up than the town of Inverness, and nearly the same distance from the field of battle, I stopped to consider what route I should take, as the cavalry of the enemy, on the road to Rothiemurchus, had totally disconcerted me. Whilst I was agitated and tormented from my uncertainty, as to what course I should take, never having been in this part of the mountains, to the west of Inverness, I suddenly heard a brisk firing in the town, which lasted a few minutes. As in misfortunes the imagination is often filled with delusive hopes, I at first thought that it might proceed from the Highlanders who were defending the town against the English, and I bitterly regretted that I had quitted the Inverness road. I recollected that there was a foot-path which led to the town, by the banks of the river, along which I had several times passed in fishing excursions. Having discovered this road, I immediately took it, without giving myself time to reflect that the place was not capable of any defence, being merely surrounded by a wall, proper only for an inclosure; but I had not proceeded a hundred paces before I met a Highlander, coming from the town, who assured me that the English had entered without meeting with any resistance. He informed me, at the same time, that the whole road, from the field of battle to Inverness, was covered with dead bodies, the principal pursuit of the English cavalry having been in that direction; and that the streets

were likewise covered with dead, as the bridge, at the end of the principal street, had been immediately blocked up by the fugitives. I was not sorry to find that my first conjectures were, unfortunately, but too true; for, in following the road to the town, I should have been of the number of these bodies. I returned then, with my heart more oppressed than ever, and plunged in the greatest grief.

As all my hopes were vanished, I only thought of removing, as far as possible, from the fatal spot; and as the Highlander informed me that he was going to Fort Augustus, a small place about eight leagues from Inverness, which our army had demolished some time before, I took the high-road, under his guidance, and proposed that we should proceed together to that place. We reached Fort Augustus at midnight, without finding a single hut on our way; and I alighted at a very small cottage, which had the name of a public house, and the landlady of which had nothing to give me but a piece of oaten bread, and some whiskey, with a little hay for my horse, which gave me the most pleasure; for although I had tasted nothing during the last twenty-four hours, the terrible vicissitudes which I had experienced in the most cruel and unfortunate day I had yet known, completely took from me all appetite, and all disposition to eat. Being very much fatigued in body and mind, I slept for two or three hours, on a seat near the fire; for as to beds there were none in the house.

I never ceased, however, from looking upon Rothiemurchus as my only resource; but his castle being situated to the south of Inverness, when I was at Fort Augustus I was at a greater distance from it than when I left the field of battle. I quitted the cabin, therefore, before day, having found another guide, who conducted me to Garviemore, twelve miles south from Fort

Augustus. The next day I proceeded to Ruthven in Badenoch, which is only two leagues distant from Rothiemurchus.

Hitherto I had fallen in with no person who could give me any news; I was therefore agreeably surprised on finding that this little town had, by chance, become the rendezvous for a great part of our army; for no place had been fixed on as a rallying-point in case of a defeat. In an instant I was surrounded by a number of my companions, who eagerly announced to me, that a great part of our army was at Ruthven and its neighbourhood; that the Highlanders were in the best disposition for taking their revenge, and waited, with impatience, the return of an aide-de-camp, whom Lord George Murray had sent to the Prince, to receive his orders, expecting to be led to battle. I never felt more intense joy than on this occasion: my eyes were filled with tears. I can only compare my situation to that of a sick person, who, after languishing for a long time, suddenly finds himself restored to a state of perfect health. Having learned that there was no accommodation at Ruthven, the greater part of our people being obliged to sleep in the fields, I did not alight from my horse; but, after making every possible enquiry for Finlay Cameron, to express my gratitude to him, without obtaining any information as to what had befallen him, I proceeded on to Killihuntly, about a quarter of a league from Ruthven.

When our army retreated to the north of Scotland, I stopped at the mansion of Mr. Gordon, of Killihuntly, where I passed several days very agreeably, and received many civilities. This amiable family received me in the most friendly manner, and I found Lord and Lady Ogilvie there, with several other friends.

As I had tasted nothing for forty hours, but a crust of oaten bread and some whiskey, I did great honour to the good cheer of the lady of the house; and as I had been a stranger to a bed since we left Inverness to meet the enemy, I went immediately to rest, with a mind at ease, and slept eighteen hours without waking. Next day, after dinner, I went to Ruthven; but as the aide-de-camp had not yet returned, there was nothing to be learned there, and I returned to sleep at Killihuntly. I was delighted to see the gaiety of the Highlanders, who seemed to have returned from a ball rather than from a defeat.

As I passed the night impatiently and with uneasiness, I rose early next morning, and went, in all haste, to Ruthven, to learn if the aide-de-camp had returned. On entering the place I was immediately struck with the gloom and melancholy painted on the countenance of every person I met, and I soon learned that the cause of it was but too well-founded. The first officer I fell in with told me that the aide-de-camp had returned, and that the only answer he had brought from the Prince was, "Let every one seek the means of escape as well as he can;" a sad and heart-breaking answer for the brave men who had sacrificed themselves for him.

I returned immediately to Killihuntly, with a sad and heavy heart, to take leave of my friends, and thank them for their civilities. The lady offered me an asylum in their mountains, which are very solitary and difficult of access; telling me that she would cause a hut to be constructed for me in the most remote situation, where she would take care to lay in every kind of provisions; that I should not want for books, and that she would give me a flock of seven or eight sheep to take care of. She added, that the place proposed being at a mile's distance

from the castle, on the banks of a stream abounding in trouts; I might amuse myself by fishing, and she would often take a walk in that direction to see her shepherd.

The project pleased me very much at first, for my misfortunes had suddenly metamorphosed me into a philosopher; and I should have consented to pass the whole of the rest of my days in solitude, if my mind had been at ease and free from anxiety. Besides, it was now the beginning of summer; and the natural beauties of the country, the water-falls, the mountain glens, the rivers, lakes, and woods, every thing, in short, had irresistible attractions. Indeed, the grandeur and magnificence which nature there displayed could hardly fail to produce a strong impression on the most insensible minds. A thousand wild graces left all the beauties of art far behind them. A poet or painter would have selected such a spot as an inspired abode, calculated to give birth to those ideas which never can be effaced from the mind of man.

Besides, the amiable society of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon, who then showed so much friendship for me, led me to think I could not do better; but, before coming to a decision, I wished to see my good friend Rothiemurchus, and consult with him as to the possibility of finding means of embarking for a foreign country, that I might not remain eternally between life and death. I went, therefore, after dinner, to Rothiemurchus, which is situated at the other extremity of this beautiful valley, and nearly two leagues from Killihuntly; but Rothiemurchus, the father, was not at home. He had gone to Inverness, as soon as he heard the news of our defeat, to pay his court to the Duke of Cumberland, rather from fear of the mischief which this barbarous Duke might do to him, than from any attachment to the House of Hanover. I, how-

ever, found his son there; as also Gordon of Park, lieutenant-colonel of Lord Lewis Gordon; Gordon of Cobairdie, his brother; and Gordon of Abachie.

Young Rothiemurchus advised me very much to surrender myself a prisoner to the Duke of Cumberland, on account of the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of effecting my escape; alleging, at the same time, that those who first surrendered could hardly fail to obtain their pardon. He added, that he had just returned from Inverness, whither he had conducted Lord Balmerino, who followed his advice in surrendering himself a prisoner. I by no means relished the perfidious advice of my old school-fellow, who was of a very different character from that of his father. I replied that I trembled at the very idea of seeing myself ironed in a dungeon; that, as long as I could, I should preserve my liberty, and when I could no longer avoid falling into the hands of the Duke of Cumberland, he might then do with me whatever he liked; that I should then meet my fate with resignation. The unfortunate Lord Balmerino was beheaded at London, during the time I was concealed there, and died with an astonishing constancy and bravery, worthy of an ancient Roman.

The servant of Rothiemurchus told us, that, having gone over the field of battle, there appeared among the dead as many English as Highlanders; and it gave us some consolation to think, that they had not obtained an easy victory. He likewise informed us, that the Duke of Cumberland, after leaving our wounded forty hours on the field of battle, had sent detachments to put to death all those whose robust constitutions had been able to resist the effect of the continual rains; and that his orders had been carried into execution with the utmost rigour.

Gordon of Park, his brother, and Abachie, having resolved to go to their estates in the shire of Banff, about ten or twelve leagues to the south of Rothiemurchus, proposed that I should accompany them; and I consented the more willingly, that my brother-in-law, Rollo, now a peer of Scotland, was settled in the town of Banff, the capital of that shire, and a seaport, where he had the inspection of merchant ships, in virtue of an office lately obtained by him from the government. I hoped, through his means, to find an opportunity of escaping abroad. Thus situated, I abandoned, without difficulty, the project of becoming a shepherd to Mrs. Gordon, which would have kept me too long in a state of uncertainty as to my fate. Besides, as I was a stranger in the Highlands, and totally unacquainted with the language of the country, I was the more induced to place myself under the auspices of Gordon of Park.

After staying two or three days at Rothiemurchus, I set off with Gordon of Park, Gordon of Cobairdie, his brother, and Gordon of Abachie, and, having proceeded some miles, we slept at the house of one of their friends, near a mountain called Cairngorm, where the shepherds often find precious stones of different kinds, without knowing their value. For some years I had made a collection of these stones, without being on the spot where they are found, and some of them were very beautiful; especially a very fine ruby, which cost me no more than a crown in its rough state, but for which, when polished, I refused fifty guineas from the Duke of Hamilton. This stone was of the size of a bean, the colour was a little deep, and the fire equal to that of the most beautiful diamond. All the jewellers of Edinburgh had taken it for an oriental ruby. I made a present of it to Lady Jane Douglas, who paid me amply for it some time

afterwards, by saving my life. I had likewise a very fine hyacinth, and a topaz, of the size of a pigeon's egg, of a beautiful colour, on which I caused the arms of Great Britain to be engraved; both of which I, afterwards, presented to Prince Charles; the hyacinth at Perth, when I joined him, and the topaz, with his arms, on our arrival at Edinburgh.

These gentlemen yielded to the intreaties of their friend to stay a day at his house, and I was not displeased at it. Forgetting, for a moment, our disasters, I rose at an early hour, and flew immediately to the mountains, among the herdsmen, where I found some pretty and beautiful topazes, two of which, sufficiently large to serve for seals, I afterwards presented to the Duke of York*, at Paris. Having returned to dinner, when my friends saw me enter with a large bag of flints, they burst into a loud laugh; and Gordon of Park exhorted me, very seriously, to think rather of saving myself from the gallows, than of collecting pebbles: my mind was, however, as much occupied as theirs with our unfortunate situation, and the scaffold was as deeply imprinted on my imagination; but I knew, at the same time, that the possession of a few stones could not hasten my destiny, if it were my fate to be hanged; whilst the search after them dissipated, for a moment, those ideas which entirely engrossed my companions in misfortune.

We reached the shire of Banff on the fourth day after our departure from Rothiemurchus, when it became necessary for us to separate, the people being all Calvinists, and declared enemies of the House of Stuart. We had lodged the preceding night at the house of a Mr. Stuart, a Presbyterian minister, but a very respectable man, and secretly in the interest of Prince

* Brother of Prince Charles, better known under the title of Cardinal de York.

Charles. On rising in the morning, I exchanged my laced Highland dress with his servant, for an old labourer's dress, quite ragged, and exhaling a pestilential odour, which, according to all appearance, had only been used, for several years, when he cleaned the stables of his master; for it smelt so strongly of dung as to be absolutely infectious at a distance. Having made a complete exchange with him, even to our shoes and stockings, each of us found our advantage in it, and particularly myself, as these rags were to contribute to save my life. Thus metamorphosed, we took leave of each other, every one following a different road. Gordon of Park advised me to pass the night at his castle of Park; and I accepted his offer the more readily, as, being only a league and a half from Banff, it was conveniently situated for an interview with my brother-in-law Rollo. I was not, however, without fear of meeting some detachment, sent out to surprise Mr. Gordon, who was nearly related to the Duke of Gordon, which might have made me a prisoner in his stead. I found in this mansion his cousin-german, Mrs. Menzie, a very amiable, sprightly, and sensible lady, with whom I had passed some time very delightfully at the house of Mr. Duff, provost of Banff, whose family was one of the most agreeable and respectable I ever knew in the whole course of my life, and whose charming society I quitted with the greatest possible regret, to rejoin our army at Inverness.

Mrs. Menzie informed me that there were four hundred English soldiers in the town of Banff, and she strongly advised me not to expose myself by going there; but as an interview with my brother-in-law was that on which I placed all my hopes of effecting my escape to a foreign country, I determined to go, contrary to her opinion; and I set out next day on foot, about nine o'clock in the evening, leaving my horse till my return.

On entering the town I met a number of soldiers, who paid no attention to me, which was a very favourable omen to me of the success of my disguise as a beggar. Indeed, my clothes were so bad, that the lowest peasant would have been ashamed to wear them. My blood boiled in my veins at the sight of the soldiers whom I considered the authors of all the trouble and distress which I began to feel, and I could hardly prevent myself from casting at them looks expressive of rage and indignation. I, however, proceeded on my way, invoking the Supreme Being, with much earnestness, to favour us with one single opportunity of taking vengeance on them for their cruelties at Culloden, when I should die tranquil and satisfied; prayers which, in appearance, will never be granted.

I went straight to the house of Mr. Duff, where I had been so agreeably entertained a short time before. He was a secret partisan of the Prince, but, being prudent and discreet, he only avowed his principles to his particular friends. He was one of the most amiable men in the world, endowed with every possible good quality, and possessed of true merit; he was of an equal mind, of a gay and sprightly disposition, and had a great share of good sense, judgment, talents, and discernment. Mrs. Duff resembled her husband in every thing; and their two daughters, the youngest of whom was a great beauty, were the exact copies of their father and mother. There was but one way of thinking in Mr. Duff's house; and I shall regret the loss of their delicious society as long as I live. As the servant maid who opened the door did not know me, on account of my disguise, I told her that I was the bearer of a letter to her master, which I was charged to deliver into his own hands, and I therefore desired her to inform him of it. Mr. Duff came down stairs, and

did not recognise me at first any more than his maid had done; but having fixed his eyes on me for some moments, his surprise was succeeded by a flood of tears. He strongly exhorted the maid to fidelity and secresy. As Mrs. Duff and her daughters were in bed, he conducted me into a room, and immediately sent his maid in quest of my brother-in-law, who happened to be from home, and who could not be found, notwithstanding every search was made for him. My sister was still at Lord Rollo's, her father-in-law, at Duncrib, as Mr. Rollo had not been long in possession of his place. It was not my intention to sleep in Banff, if I could have seen my brother-in-law without delay, and ascertained if I had any thing to hope from his services, at a moment so critical for me; as the neighbourhood of soldiers was too alarming to allow me to remain tranquil. I had, therefore, resolved to leave Banff before day, and to return to Mr. Gordon's house. Mr. Duff retired to rest at one o'clock in the morning; when I went to bed, I was, however, unable to close an eye.

I rose as soon as day began to appear, and put on my rags; and whilst I was seated in an arm-chair, with my eyes fixed on the fire, pensive, melancholy, and absorbed in a train of reflections, which my situation suggested to me in abundance, the servant maid suddenly entered my chamber, and told me that I was undone, as the court-yard was filled with soldiers, come to seize me. Less important intelligence would have been enough to rouse me out of my reverie. I immediately flew to the window, when I saw, in reality, the soldiers which the maid had told me of. Having thus ocular demonstration of my misfortune, I returned to my chair, perfectly resigned, and considered myself as a man who was soon to end his days. I instantly conjectured that the maid must have betrayed me, having some soldier for

her sweetheart, a common enough circumstance: — One feeble ray of hope alone remained, which was, to open a passage for myself through the soldiers, with a pistol in each hand; and I kept my eyes steadfastly fixed on the door of my chamber, in order to spring on the soldiers like a lion, the moment they should appear. A melancholy resource! I had little hopes of success; but I had no alternative.

Having passed about a quarter of an hour in the most violent agitation, the door of my chamber at length opened, and I sprung forward with precipitation to the attack. But what was my surprise, when, in place of the soldiers, I saw the beautiful and adorable Miss Duff the younger burst in out of breath, to tell me, like another guardian angel, to be no longer uneasy; that the disturbance was occasioned by some soldiers fighting among themselves, who had entered into the court, to elude the observation of their officers, and who, after settling their quarrel by a boxing match, had all gone off together. Miss Duff the younger was very beautiful, and only eighteen. I seized her in my arms, pressed her to my bosom, and gave her, with the best will in the world, a thousand tender kisses. In an instant the whole family were in my room to congratulate me on my happy deliverance; the noise of the soldiers having raised every person in the house, though it was hardly six o'clock. Fully convinced of the sincere friendship and esteem of this respectable family, my greatest uneasiness during this adventure, was lest, from their excessive anxiety for me, some of them should have innocently betrayed me. Mr. Duff was the only person, on whose coolness and presence of mind I could fully rely.

My brother-in-law called on me a few minutes after the alarm was over, and made me many protestations of friendship, whilst he

excused himself at the same time from contributing, in any manner, to assist me in procuring a passage for some foreign country, as all the vessels at Banff were strictly searched before their departure, by different officers of government. He advised me strongly to return to the Highlands, as the only measure that I could adopt. I own that I felt indignant at his conduct; and the more so, as he was under numberless obligations to me; and I returned for answer, that I did not want his advice, but his assistance. He took his departure, after remaining a quarter of an hour with me, during all which time he seemed as if on thorns; and from that moment to this, I have neither seen him nor heard from him. He knew all the masters of trading ships at Banff; and, had he been disposed to serve me, he could certainly have found some one of the number, who would have taken me on board, disguised as a sailor; which would have saved me from an infinity of troubles and sufferings, to which I was subjected before I effected my escape; but he would not expose himself to the least risk for his brother-in-law, who on all occasions had given him the most essential proofs of his friendship. He was of such a character that I do not believe he would have put himself to any inconvenience for his own father, or for any human being on the face of the earth.

Adversity is the touchstone of men; and I have learned from mine how little reliance ought to be placed on friendship in general. All those, from whom I hoped for assistance in my misfortunes, threw off the mask, and displayed nothing but falsehood and dissimulation; and it was those only, from whom I did not expect any services, who acted as sincere friends. From having been deceived my whole life, experience has at length taught me to know mankind. I had even rendered the most essential

service to my brother-in-law a little before. His father, Lord Rollo, a violent partisan of the house of Stuart, had taken arms in the attempt made, in the year 1715, to re-establish that family on the throne, which was defeated by the English army, under the command of the Duke of Argyle; when he was obliged to conceal himself several years before he obtained his pardon. Having passed a night in his lordship's house, whilst our army were retreating from Stirling to Inverness,* he incessantly regretted that his age and infirmities would not permit him to join the Prince; and he conjured me, with uplifted hands, to pass through Banff, for the express purpose of commanding his son, my brother-in-law, to join our army immediately, under pain of never being allowed to appear in his presence again. I delivered to my brother-in-law his father's commands; but, at the same time, I painted to him the distress, to which he would reduce his wife and family in case of our defeat. My advice was beneficial to him; for, a short time afterwards, he found himself in possession of the estate and honours of the house of Rollo,* instead of dying on a scaffold, or wandering about a beggar in a foreign land. No doubt, I had more in view the interest of my sister and nephew than himself, in this advice.

Having passed the whole day at Mr. Duff's, in as agreeable a manner as was compatible with the unfortunate situation in which I was placed, I took my final leave of that amiable family about nine o'clock in the evening, to return to the castle of Gordon of Park, and our tears at parting were reciprocal and abundant. I spent the night, without going to bed, in conversation with Mrs.

* It has lately been proved, from records in the tower of London, that my nephew, at present Lord Rollo, peer of Scotland, is descended, by legitimate marriages, from Raoul or Rollo, Duke of Normandy. — *Author.*

Menzie, not without fears of a visit from some detachment sent in pursuit of Mr. Gordon, and the mistake would not have been to my advantage. After a great deal of discussion with this lady, as to the measures which I ought to adopt, I at length determined to gain the low country, and try, by every means, to approach Edinburgh, that I might be in the way of receiving assistance from my relations and friends, as I knew nobody in the Highlands but those who were plunged in the same distress with myself, or perish in the attempt. I resolved to consider myself in future as a lost man, against whom, there were a thousand chances to one that he would end his days on a scaffold; but in favour of whom there was still one chance remaining, and I determined, therefore, to abandon myself wholly to Providence, and trust rather to accident than to any certain resource; to preserve on all occasions the coolness and presence of mind, which were absolutely necessary to extricate me from the troublesome encounters to which I should be exposed, and to enable me to avail myself of the favourable opportunities which might present themselves. Such were my resolutions; and I was determined to carry them into execution, and to think of nothing which might divert me from my purpose.

Mrs. Menzie did every thing in her power to induce me to change my plan, by representing the insurmountable difficulties which I should have to encounter at every step; the counties I had to pass through, where all the peasants were fanatical Calvinists, and assembled of themselves, with their ministers at their head, to go out on expeditions to take such unfortunate gentlemen prisoners, as made their escape from the Highlands, and the pursuits of the soldiers; the great distance from the castle of Park to Edinburgh; and the impossibility of crossing the two arms of the sea without a passport from government, as the

English cavalry were constantly patrolling along the shore, and searching the different villages to examine and arrest all persons without passports. But nothing could shake my determination of proceeding to the south.

About five o'clock in the morning I took leave of Mrs. Menzie, who gave me a letter of recommendation to Mr. Gordon, of Kildrummy, one of her relations, who then resided in one of his mansions, about twelve miles from the castle of Park, and she gave me a servant by way of guide, whom I sent back as soon as we were in sight of the mansion in question. Upon asking for Mr. Gordon, I was told that he had just gone out, but that he would return to dinner; and the servant added, with a tone of indifference, that if I were cold, I might, in the mean time, go into the kitchen, and warm myself. As it was very cold, I accepted his offer and entered the kitchen, where I found a number of servants assembled around the fire, who, believing themselves of a class above mine, allowed me to remain standing a long time, before inviting me to sit down and join their company, which I did very respectfully. They embarrassed me very much by their incessant questions. One lackey asked me, if I had been long in the service of Mrs. Menzie? I answered, with an air of the utmost humility and submission, that I had not yet been two months. A chambermaid whispered to a lackey sufficiently loud to allow me to hear her, that Mrs. Menzie ought to be ashamed to send a servant with commissions to her master, so shabbily dressed. Their jargon, stupidity, and impertinence wearied me to death, and irritated me for two long hours; when Mr. Gordon at length arrived to relieve me.

I delivered to him Mrs. Menzie's letter, before his servants, and continued following him to his apartment; and, as soon

as I saw an opportunity, I informed him who I was, and begged him to procure me a guide to conduct me to the first arm of the sea, as I was unacquainted with the country. He appeared greatly affected with my situation, showed me every possible kindness, and immediately sent a servant with an order to one of his game-keepers, to procure me a guide to his estate of Kildrummy, sixteen miles distant; and whilst we were waiting the return of the servant, he contrived to bring some provisions into the room, of which I ate a great deal without any appetite, from pure precaution, not knowing whether I should get any supper at Kildrummy. The guide being arrived, I took my leave of Mr. Gordon, and reached the village of Kildrummy at an early hour. The place where I now passed the night is famous for one of the most memorable events in the Scottish history.

Scotland was the ally of France for nearly nine hundred years without interruption, from the reign of Charlemagne to the union of the two crowns of Scotland and England. This offensive and defensive alliance, was rigidly observed by the Scots in all times; but they were generally the victims of their attachment to France. In all the quarrels between France and England, Scotland always commenced hostilities, the French availing themselves of Scotland, as a diversion in England, and by way of keeping the English in check. In this game, constantly played by France, the Scots were continually duped; for as soon as the English disembarked on France, the French auxiliaries in Scotland were recalled to defend their own country; and the unfortunate Scots were left to their own resources, to extricate themselves from their difficulties in the best way they could; and England having in all times been more populous than Scotland, the Scots were frequently reduced to the last extremity, as valour could not always supply the place of numbers.

The Scots having lost several successive battles, and been forced to abandon the whole of the low country, as far as Kildrummy, were shut up in the Highlands, the inaccessible nature of which protected them from complete subjugation. In that deplorable situation, Robert the Bruce having assembled ten thousand men, the wreck of the Scots armies, put himself at their head, and unexpectedly fell upon the English, with such impetuosity, that they were immediately put to flight. Not a man of them escaped to carry the news of their defeat to England, and Scotland was completely liberated.* I walked a good deal about Kildrummy, and recalling this event to my remembrance, my imagination was so filled with it, that I thought I could even distinguish the field of battle, where this glorious victory was gained over the English. I often said to myself, O! if the earth here would open, how many English bones, which it preserves as precious deposits in its bosom, would it discover! The view of this celebrated spot operated as a relief to me, raised somewhat my drooping spirits, and for a moment, made me feel all my troubles alleviated and suspended, and my mental distress less intolerable.

* The author here, and in the above account of the French alliance, repeats some of the silly notions very generally entertained by the people of Scotland in his day. Till lately, the Scots were grossly ignorant of the early history of their country; and the credulity with which they received all manner of idle fables, justly subjected them to the derision of their neighbours. An Innes, a Dalrymple, a Pinkerton, and other learned and laborious writers, have at length freed their countrymen from this reproach, and they can now admire a Buchanan for his latinity, and a Barbour for his genius, without believing in the existence of the kings before Christ, in the high antiquity of the French alliance, or in all the marvellous achievements fondly attributed to Wallace and Bruce. Kildrummy was the scene of several conflicts, between the English and Scots, but no decisive battle, of the nature of that above mentioned, ever took place there. See a curious description of this castle in Cordiner's *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland.*

As there are only a few cottages at Kildrummy, I passed the night in one which went by the name of a public house, where I slept on a bed of straw, very uncomfortably; but, to make amends for my bed, my landlady gave me an excellent young fowl for supper, and surprised me next morning by only demanding three-pence for my supper and bed. This public house, it is true, was a very extraordinary one; for it contained no liquor of any description. This outset gave me pleasure, as I perceived that I should not have hunger in addition to my other sufferings to encounter in my journey to the south, as I must undoubtedly have had in the Highlands. Mr. Gordon had sent an order to Kildrummy, to furnish me with a guide to Cortachie, a village, belonging to Lord Ogilvie, at the foot of the mountains, to which I had kept very close since my departure from Banff. Before leaving Kildrummy I ordered my landlady to roast another fowl for me, which I put in my pocket by way of precaution; for I was uncertain if I should find any thing to eat in the course of the day; and on giving a sixpence to the good woman of the house, she seemed to be as well pleased as myself. These good people have very little money among them, and indeed, they have little want of it, as they possess the necessaries of life in great abundance.

As soon as my guide had conducted me so far on the road to Cortachie, that I could not go wrong, I sent him back again, and reached Cortachie in the evening. In traversing the moor of Glenelion*, I wished much to have fallen in with the minister of that parish, a sanguinary wretch, who made a practice of scouring

* This is the manner in which this name is written in the original; but it is presumed the author has fallen into some mistake here. A valley in Perthshire, watered by the Lyon, bears the name of Glenlyon, but it is remote from the route of our author. Perhaps he meant the moor of *Glenila* or *Glenisla*. Glenila is a long vale, watered by the Ila, and Glenila church is not many miles distant from Cortachie.

this moor every day, with a pistol, concealed under his great coat, which he instantly presented to the breasts of any of our unfortunate gentlemen, whom he fell in with, in order to take them prisoners. This iniquitous interpreter of the word of God considered it as a holy undertaking to bring his fellow-creatures to the scaffold; and he was the cause of the death of several, whom he had thus taken by surprise. Mrs. Menzie had cautioned me to be upon my guard with respect to him, but I was not afraid of him, as I always had with me my English pistols, which were excellent workmanship, loaded and primed, one in each breeches pocket. I desired, indeed, nothing so much as to fall in with him, for the good of my companions in misfortune, being confident that I should have given a good account of him in an engagement with pistols; for I have all my life remarked that an unfeeling, barbarous, and cruel man is never brave. But the punishment of this inhuman monster was reserved for Mr. Gordon of Abachie. When we separated, four days after our departure from Rothiemurchus, Abachie resolved to go to his own castle, and the minister of Glenelion, having been informed of his return, put himself at the head of an armed body of his parishioners, true disciples of such a pastor, and proceeded with them to the castle of Abachie, in order to take Mr. Gordon prisoner. He had only time to save himself, by jumping out of a window in his shirt.

As we seldom pardon a treacherous attempt on our life, Mr. Gordon assembled a dozen of his vassals, some days afterwards, set out with them in the night, and contrived to obtain entrance into the house of this fanatical minister. Having found him in bed, they immediately performed the operation upon him, which Abelard formerly underwent, and carried off * * * * * *

as trophies; assuring him, at the same time, that if he repeated his nightly excursion with his parishioners, they would pay him a second visit, which should cost him his life. In this adventure his wife alone was to be pitied; as for himself, his punishment was not so tragical as the death on the scaffold, which he had in view for Mr. Gordon of Abachie. It is to be hoped that this chastisement completely cured him of his lust for inhuman excursions.

As most of the vassals of Lord Ogilvie had been in the army of Prince Charles, I ran no risk in applying to the people of the first house in Cortachie which I came to.* Having entered a public house, and informed the landlady that I belonged to the army of the prince, she immediately told me that two of our gentlemen were concealed in Glen-Prossen, a large ravine between

* In Scotland, the vassals were always of the party to which their chief belonged, whether it was that of the house of Stuart, or that of the house of Hanover. — *Author.*

This must be understood of few parts of Scotland, except the Highlands. Though the great families of the Low Country, had, comparatively speaking, more influence, than was possessed by the great families of England, they were unable to bring many followers into the field.

Mr. Home, in mentioning the arrival of the Earl of Home, to join Sir John Cope, at Dunbar, remarks, " He was then an officer in the guards, and thought it his duty to offer his service when the king's troops were in the field. He came to Dunbar, attended by one or two servants. There were not wanting persons, upon this occasion, to make their remarks, and observe the mighty change, which little more than a century had produced in Scotland. It was known to every body, who knew any thing of the history of their country, that the ancestors of this noble lord, (once the most powerful peers in the South of Scotland,) could, at a short warning, have raised in their own territories a body of men, whose approach that Highland army which had got possession of the capital of Scotland, and was preparing to fight the whole military force in that kingdom, would not have dared to wait."

Even in the rebellion of 1715, the Earl of Winton, whose estate in East Lothian, stood among the first in the list of forfeitures, could only join the rebel army with fourteen men, while Highland chieftains, even of middling rank, had, on the same occasion, brought along with them three, four, or five hundred.

two mountains, at the bottom of which there is a small rivulet. This Glen lies at the foot of the mountains, and is a most picturesque and retired spot. Having enquired my way to them, and received the necessary directions, I proceeded immediately to the house of a peasant, named Samuel, who dwelt at the head of the glen, about half a league from Cortachie, where I found the two gentlemen in question. They were Messrs. Brown and Gordon, officers in the service of France, who had escaped from Carlisle, after the capitulation. They were very glad to see me; and strongly urged me not to attempt proceeding any farther to the south, where I should infallibly be taken; as they had received certain information that all the towns and villages on the banks of the first arm of the sea (the frith of Tay) were searched with the utmost strictness and vigilance by patrols of cavalry, who were constantly riding up and down the coast, and examining the passports with the utmost rigour. They added, that it had been their intention to go to Edinburgh; but that they had altered their mind, from the impossibility of carrying their plan into execution; and they mentioned the names of several of our comrades, who had been made prisoners within the last few days, in attempting to pass the nearest ferry, which is about eight miles from Cortachie.* They earnestly intreated me to abandon my intentions, and to remain with them for some time, at Samuel's, in Glen-Prossen. However desirous I was to reach Edinburgh, I did not wish to throw away my life with blind precipitancy. My situation was then so critical, that the least false step, or error of judgment, was sure to cost me my life. I there-

* Cortachie is at least twenty miles from any part of the Frith of Tay.

fore followed their advice, and consented to remain with them at Samuel's.

Samuel was a very honest man, but extremely poor. We remained seventeen days in his house, eating at the same table with himself and his family, who had no other food than oatmeal, and no other drink than the water of the stream, which ran through the glen. We breakfasted every morning on a piece of oatmeal bread, which we were enabled to swallow by draughts of water; for dinner we boiled oatmeal with water, till it acquired a consistency, and we eat it with horn spoons; in the evening we poured boiling water on this meal in a dish, for our supper.* I must own, that the time, during which I was confined to this diet, appeared to pass very slowly, though none of us seemed to suffer in our health from it; on the contrary, we were all exceedingly well. We might have had some addition to our sorry cheer, by sending for it to Cortachie; but we were afraid, (as Samuel's mode of living was well known, and as any alteration in it would lead to a suspicion that people were concealed in his house,) lest some ill disposed person should give information of the circumstance to one of the numerous cavalry detachments, that passed through Cortachie, which would lead to our being made prisoners.

Honest Samuel and his family had scarcely any other food than this the whole year through, except, perhaps, during summer, when they mixed a little milk with their oatmeal, instead of

* These preparations of oatmeal are still the principal dishes of the Scots peasantry. Oatmeal boiled with water is

"The healsome *parritch*, chief o' Scotia's food,"

of Burns; and oatmeal stirred about after boiling water has been poured on it receives various names in different parts of the country, but is most generally called *brose*. The same dishes, under other names, are to be found also in various parts of England.

water. Their manner of living placed them beyond the reach of fortune; for they had nothing to fear but bad health, which might deprive them of their humble fare, but to which they were less exposed, from their frugal and simple mode of life, that does not fill the body with gross humours so much as a more luxurious diet. As their wants were few, their labour could always supply them with the means of subsistence. Besides, they enjoyed a degree of health unknown to those, who live in ease and abundance. Their desires were confined to the preservation of their existence, and their health; without any ambition to change the state in which fortune had placed them, or the wish to ameliorate their condition. Content with what they possessed, they desired nothing more; living without care, sleeping without anxiety, and dying without fear. We might call them happy, if happiness consists in an exemption from those troubles, which follow in the train of imaginary wants; and the remembrance of these good people, whose happiness I have often envied, has always led me to think, that three-fourths of mankind are miserable from their own fault; having the means of being happy in their power, if they would regulate their expence by their income, every one according to his means.

The necessaries of life consist of food and clothes; but by necessaries, we commonly understand superfluities, which so far from being essential to the preservation of health and life, are, on the contrary, often injurious to them, and tend to shorten our days. We can only be happy, while contented with our situation, and while we proportion our expences to our income, which every one may do, from the highest ranks, to those in the condition of Samuel; extirpating ambition and avarice as scourges, that incessantly torment us with imaginary wants; for the more

honours and riches we obtain, the more insatiable and avaricious we become, without being more happy. Enviable mediocrity! it is in thy bosom that true happiness is usually to be found; for then our mind is necessarily withdrawn from noisy pleasures.

Besides the poverty of our fare, to which I had a good deal of difficulty to accustom myself, we were frequently alarmed by detachments of English cavalry, making their appearance in our neighbourhood. Samuel had a married daughter, who lived at the entrance into the glen, and she served as a sentinel, to inform us when there were any English detachments at Cortachie. This tranquillised us during the day, for our sentinel was very exact in acquainting us with every thing that passed; but when the troops arrived in the evening, we were obliged to consult our safety by escaping to the neighbouring mountains, where we frequently passed nights in the open air, even during dreadful tempests of wind and rain.

One day our sentinel, who was always attentive and alert, came to inform us that various detatchments were hovering round our quarters, and that they had taken Sir James Kinloch, his brothers, and several other persons who were in his castle, prisoners; and that Mr. Ker, formerly a colonel in the service of Spain, and an aide-de-camp of Prince Charles, had been likewise taken, about four miles from us, near the little town of Forfar. She added, that a party had searched all the castle and environs of Cortachie, in hopes of finding Lord Ogilvie, who was not then far from us, as his lordship since informed me, without our knowing it at the time; that the same party had received information of our retreat in Glen-Prossen, and that we ran great risk of being soon taken prisoners. We immediately held a council, and as there was no longer any safety for us in Glen-Prossen, on account

of the detachments with which we were continually surrounded, we unanimously agreed to quit Samuel's next morning at three o'clock, to return to the Highlands, and fix our abode for some time amongst the rocks; having no other resource left us. In consequence of our decision, we went to bed at eight o'clock in the evening, in order to lay in a stock of sleep, before our departure, as we could have no hopes of sleeping under a roof for some time to come.

I never gave credit to the stories of supernatural interference, which abound in every country, and with which men are deceived from their infancy. These stories are generally the creation of over-heated imaginations, of superstitious old women, or of disordered intellects. This night, however, I had so extraordinary and so incomprehensible a dream, that if any other person had related it to me, I should have treated him as a visionary. However, it was verified afterwards, to the letter; and I owe my life to the circumstance of my having been so struck with it, incredulous as I was, that I could not resist the impressions which it left upon my mind. I dreamed, that, having escaped the pursuits of my enemies, and being in the complete enjoyment of the satisfaction of seeing myself out of danger, and in a situation of the most perfect security, with a serene and quiet mind,—in short, the happiest of men, having escaped a death on the scaffold, and being at the end of my troubles and sufferings, I happened to be at Edinburgh, in the company of Lady Jane Douglas, sister of the Duke of Douglas, to whom I was relating every thing that had occurred to me since the battle of Culloden, and detailing all that had taken place in our army, since our retreat from Stirling, with the dangers to which I had been personally exposed, in endeavouring to escape a death on the scaffold, the

idea of which haunted me incessantly, up to that happy moment which poured into my soul the salutary balm of the sweetest tranquillity.

When I awoke, at six o'clock in the morning, this dream had left such a strong impression on my mind, that I thought I still heard the soft voice of Lady Jane Douglas vibrating in my ears. All my senses were lulled in a state of profound calm, while I felt, at the same time, a serenity of soul, and tranquillity of mind, to which I had been a stranger since the fatal epoch of our misfortunes. All the particulars of my dream were present in my imagination, and deeply engraven on my memory; and my mind remained a long time in that state of flattering, sweet, and mild repose, in which my dream had left it, from the idea of having effected my escape. I remained in my bed, absent and buried in all manner of reflections, my head leaning on my hand, and my elbow supported on my pillow, recapitulating all the circumstances of my dream, regretting that it was only a dream, but wishing to have such dreams frequently, to calm the storms and agitations with which my soul was devoured from the uncertainty of my fate. What situation can be more cruel, than that of a continual oscillation between hope and a despair a thousand times worse than death itself? In the certainty of a visible and inevitable punishment, we make up our minds to it with firmness and resignation.

I had passed an hour in this attitude, motionless as a statue, when Samuel entered to tell me, that my companions had set out at three o'clock in the morning, and to acquaint me with the place in the mountains where I should find them. He added, that he had been twice at my bed-side to awaken me, before their departure, but seeing me fast asleep, he could not find in his heart to

disturb me, convinced of the need I had of fortifying myself by repose, for the fatigues I must undergo in the mountains. He told me to rise without delay, as it was time to depart; for his daughter, who would suppose we had already left his house, might not be exact in informing us of the arrival of detachments. I answered in a composed and serious tone, "Samuel, I am going to Edinburgh." Poor Samuel stared at me, and with a foolish and astonished air exclaimed, "My good Sir, excuse me, are you right in your head?" "Yes," replied I; "my head is perfectly sound: I am going to Edinburgh, and I shall set out this very evening: go and inform your daughter that I am still here, that she may continue her usual watch, and let me know if any military arrive at Cortachie in the course of the day." Samuel began to weary me with his remonstrances; but I imposed silence by telling him, once for all, that it was a thing decided upon, and that it was useless to speak to me any more on the subject.

No day ever seemed so long to me. My mind was a prey to all manner of reflections, and impatience and fear agitated me by turns. The detachments of soldiers; the fanatical zeal of the peasantry, an evil still greater than that of the soldiers; the towns and villages I had to pass through, all filled with Calvinists, bitter enemies of the house of Stuart; the risk which I should be obliged to run, in applying to the boatmen to cross the arm of the sea; in short, a thousand gloomy ideas crowded on my mind; the dangers were magnified in my eyes, and I trembled at the idea of the dreadful difficulties which I had to overcome; but still nothing could shake my resolution of going to Edinburgh, or perishing in the attempt. I always concluded with saying to myself, as if I had been in conversation with some body, "Well, then, I must perish! But it is the same thing to me, whether I am taken in going to the south, or in the

Highlands, there is danger everywhere; and if I can only reach Edinburgh, I shall be safer there than in the Highlands, where I have neither relations nor friends, and where all my acquaintances are of recent date. If I am taken, my fate will be soon decided, and I shall not be obliged to languish a long time in the utmost misery; to which I must make up my mind, if I betake myself to the mountains; and, after all, perhaps, that will not save me from ending my days on the scaffold." Such were my reflections: I could assign no better reasons for the resolution I had adopted, of advancing southward; for it must be confessed all appearances were against me: but my head was so filled with my dream, that if all the world had endeavoured to dissuade me from my purpose, it would have been unavailing.

At length the night arrived, which I had so impatiently waited for. I mounted on horseback with Samuel behind me, who consented to be my guide to the first arm of the sea, eight miles from Cortachie. There is a small town, called Forfar, one of the most famous for Presbyterian fanaticism, and the inhabitants had lately signalised their holy zeal by contributing to arrest Colonel Ker. Samuel informed me that we should be obliged to pass through this infernal town, as there was no other road to Broughty, a village on the shore of the first arm of the sea, where all the roads to the south centre. I therefore left Samuel, late in the evening, in order to pass through that execrable town whilst its worthless inhabitants were buried in sleep. The moment we entered this abominable place, a dog began to bark, and frightened poor Samuel, who was at bottom an honest man, though naturally a coward and poltroon. Seized with a panic-terror, he lost his senses, and endeavoured, by every possible means, to throw himself from his horse, and take to his heels;

but I seized fast hold of the skirts of his coat, and kept him on horseback, in spite of all his efforts to disengage himself, lest the terror which had deprived him of the use of his reason, should actually induce him to run away, and leave me in the most perplexing of all situations, though, when cool, no man was more disposed to serve me. I was totally unacquainted with the country; and I should not even have been able to find my way back to Cortachie, without asking at every village, and thus exposing myself to be taken prisoner by a vile rabble. He was continually struggling to get down, but I prevented him by the hold I had of his coat. I exhorted him to be quiet; I reproached him; I alternately intreated and menaced him; but all in vain. He no longer knew what he was about, and it was to no purpose I assured him that it was only the barking of a dog. He heard nothing that I said, and was completely beside himself. He perspired at every pore, and trembled like a person in an ague. Fortunately I had an excellent horse. The day after the battle of Culloden, when I was opposite the castle of Macpherson of Clunie, the jade which had saved me from the field of battle being ready to sink under me, and no longer able to stand upon its legs, I met Lady Macpherson in the high-road, who told me that seven or eight gentlemen had just abandoned their horses near the place where we were, in order to escape on foot to the mountains. I took one of the best of them. I now clapped spurs to my horse, and galloped through Forfar at full speed, to extricate myself as soon as possible from this troublesome crisis, retaining always fast hold of his coat. As soon as we were fairly out of the town, as no persons had come out of their houses, poor Samuel began to breathe again. When he came to himself, he made a thousand apologies for his fears,

and promised me, upon his word, that he would never allow himself to get into such a plight again, whatever might happen.

When day began to appear, I alighted from my horse, which I offered as a present to Samuel, being no longer able to keep him, on account of the passage of the ferry, from which we were still about four miles distant; but Samuel refused to take him; saying that his neighbours, seeing him in possession of a fine horse, would immediately suspect that he had received him from some rebel whom he had assisted in effecting his escape; that they would immediately inform against him; that he would in consequence be prosecuted, and the horse being an evidence, he would infallibly be sentenced to be hanged. I took off the saddle and bridle, which we threw into a draw-well, and we drove the horse into a field at some distance from the road, in order that those who found him might take him for a strayed horse. We had great difficulty in getting quit of this animal, for he followed us for some time like a dog.

We had not walked a quarter of an hour, after giving liberty to my horse, when we fell in with a friend of Samuel, who questioned him a great deal as to the place to which he was going, what his business was, and who I was. Samuel answered, without the least hesitation, (which I hardly expected, after the adventure of the dog at Forfar,) "I am going to bring home a calf, which I left to winter in the Low Country, last autumn; and as to the young man with me, as he was without bread, I have taken him out of charity, and he serves me for his victuals. I intend sending him back with the calf, whilst I go myself to Dundee to buy a cow, to help to support my family with during the summer." As there happened to be an ale-house very near, the two friends agreed to

have a bottle of beer together, and I was obliged to accompany them. I shewed such respect for my new master, that I did not venture to sit down beside him, till he invited me. The friend of Samuel pressed me to partake of their small-beer, which tasted for all the world like physic; but Samuel excused me, extolling so much my sobriety and good character, that his friend was incessantly showing me a thousand little attentions, expressing a wish, from time to time, to find a lad like me on the same terms; and I thought I could perceive a secret desire in him to entice me from Samuel's service to his own. After they had swallowed a considerable quantity of beer, they left the ale-house, and separated, to my great pleasure; for I was not only frequently very much embarrassed in playing the part which Samuel had assigned me, but also tired to death of their stupid jargon. Scarcely had this man left us, when Samuel whispered in my ear that he was one of the greatest knaves and cheats in that part of the country, and famous for his villainy; that if he had found out who I was, he would have undoubtedly sold me; and that the mere wish to obtain possession of my watch and purse would have been a sufficient inducement for him to have betrayed me, and brought me to the gallows. I was the more astonished at what Samuel told me, as, from their conversation, which was full of assurances of mutual esteem, I had not a doubt on my mind that they entertained for each other the most sincere friendship. I bestowed great praise on this occasion on the prudence and discretion of my new master.

Artifice, hypocrisy, and the art of deceiving, which has been very improperly called policy, are commonly supposed to be found only in the courts of princes, the only schools for learning falsehood and dissimulation; but I saw as much finesse

and duplicity in the false assurances of friendship and compliments of these two peasants, whilst they were drinking their beer, and I was as completely a dupe in this case, as I was afterwards in a conversation, at which I happened to be present, between two noblemen of the first rank.* The one was my particular friend, and the other ambassador at a court where he had promised, and where he had it in his power, to be of essential service to my friend, then outlawed and exiled from his native country, if he had been so inclined. These two personages embraced each other with an air of cordiality, said a thousand flattering things to each other, and repeatedly expressed the strongest assurances of mutual friendship; but the moment the ambassador had terminated his visit and taken his departure, my friend informed me, that they cordially detested each other. When I reproached him with having acted a part unworthy of a man of honour and a gentleman, he replied, that he only wished to pay the ambassador in his own coin. Falsehood is to be found in the heart of man, whatever rank he may hold in the world! This depravity of sentiment is not to be found in the brute creation. Still, however, the pantomime of these two lords would have less easily deceived me, from the opinion generally entertained of the duplicity of courtiers, than that which was acted by these two peasants. In the one case we lay our account with finding falsity and dissimulation, and in the other we expect to find rustic simplicity. A dog never fawns on the person whom he intends to bite; these cursed qualities are reserved for the human race alone.

* The Duke de Mirepoix, then ambassador at the Court of London, and Lord Ogilvie, now Earl of Airly.—*Author.*

Falsehood lowers a man beneath his natural condition, and debases and degrades him below that of the beasts of the field; and, unfortunately, it is to be found both in the heart of him who is born to govern a kingdom, and in that of the humble peasant.

About nine o'clock in the morning, being within a distance of half a league from the ferry, without knowing as yet how I could pass it, to whom I should apply for assistance, or where to find an asylum till a favourable opportunity should present itself for crossing over, I asked Samuel if he knew of any gentleman in the neighbourhood of Broughty, not hostile to the House of Stuart, but who had not been in our army. "That I do," said Samuel; "here is the castle of Mr. Graham, of Duntroon, who answers precisely to your description. His two nephews were in your army, but he remained quiet at home, without declaring himself." I did not know Mr. Graham, never having seen him, but I had frequently heard my sister Rollo speak of him, his niece having been the companion of Lady Rollo, her mother-in-law. Mr. Graham was of a very ancient family, a branch of that of the Grahams Dukes of Montrose, and he was one of those who had taken up arms in favour of the House of Stuart, in the year 1715. Having then very little property, after that unfortunate adventure, he entered into the service of the English East India Company, and attained to the command of one of their ships; by which means he acquired a considerable fortune, and raised his family.

I immediately dispatched Samuel to Mr. Graham, to inform him, that he had brought an unfortunate gentleman near his house, who wished very much to speak to him. Samuel soon returned, and told me, that Mr. Graham had ordered him to conduct me into one of his inclosures, where there was very high

broom, and where he would soon join me. Mr. Graham joined me accordingly without delay. I told him who I was, and earnestly intreated him to procure me a boat in order to pass the ferry at Broughty, as from his vicinity to it, he must certainly be acquainted with all the inhabitants on whom any reliance could be placed. He replied, that it would give him the greatest pleasure to have it in his power to be useful to me; that he knew my sister Rollo, whom he had even very lately seen at the castle of Lord Rollo; and after a thousand apologies for not daring to take me to his castle, on account of his servants, of whose fidelity he was not assured, he told me that he would instantly send to Broughty for a boat. He asked me, at the same time, what I wished for breakfast. I answered, that, after passing seventeen days with Samuel upon oatmeal and water, he could send me nothing that could come amiss, and to which I should not do justice from my appetite. He left me, and soon after sent me his gardener, in whose fidelity he could confide, with new-laid eggs, butter, cheese, a bottle of white wine, and another of beer. I never ate with so much voracity; I devoured seven or eight eggs in a moment, with a great quantity of bread, butter, and cheese.

Mr. Graham returned to the inclosure; but finding me drowsy he soon left me, with an assurance that he should immediately send to Broughty, to engage boatmen to transport me to the other side of the Frith, in the course of the night. It was then about eleven o'clock in the morning, and delightful weather, in the month of May: having dismissed Samuel, with a gratification beyond his hopes, I lay down among the broom, which was at least four feet high, and slept till one o'clock, when I was agreeably woke by Mr. Graham, with the pleasing intelligence

that he had engaged boatmen to carry me across the Frith, about nine o'clock in the evening.

Mr. Graham asked me what I wished to have for dinner, enumerating to me the various good things in his house, all of which appeared exquisite to one who had undergone such a rigorous Lent at Samuel's. Among other things, he mentioned a piece of beef, and I begged he would send me nothing else. Although it was not more than three hours since I had eaten plentifully, I felt my stomach already empty, and I devoured the beef, which seemed more delicious to me than any thing I had ever before tasted. I was well entitled to make an ample repast on this occasion, as I was uncertain whether I should have an opportunity of making such another for a long time. Mr. Graham returned immediately after dinner, bringing with him a bottle of excellent old claret, which we drank together, and after which I felt myself sufficiently strong and courageous to attempt any thing. He then communicated to me the arrangements which he had made. At five o'clock precisely, I was to climb over the wall of the inclosure, at a place which he pointed out to me, where I should see the gardener with a sack of corn upon his back, whom I was to follow at some distance, till he entered a wind-mill, when an old woman would take the place of the gardener, whom I was next to follow, in the same manner, to the village of Broughty, whither she would conduct me. Mr. Graham kept me company till four o'clock, when he took his leave, after embracing me and wishing me success. I regulated my watch by his, that I might be exact in the appointment with the gardener.

I had still an hour to remain in the inclosure, which, in my impatience, appeared extremely long and tedious. I kept my

watch constantly in my hand, counting every minute, till the hand touched five, when I began to follow the directions of Mr. Graham. I had no difficulty in discovering the gardener, with the sack of corn on his back, but I was very much at a loss to distinguish the right old woman, among three or four who happened to pass by the mill at the very moment the gardener entered it, and I did not know, therefore, whom I ought to follow, till mine, seeing my embarrassment, made a sign with her head, which I understood perfectly well. As soon as we arrived at the top of the hill, above the village of Broughty, she stopt to inform me that she would go by herself to see if all was ready, and enjoined me to wait for her return in the road where she left me.

Broughty is situated at the foot of a hill, on the sea-side, and is not visible till we reach the top of that hill, from which the road descends obliquely to the village. The sun was just going down when the good woman left me; and having waited more than half an hour for her in the road, my impatience induced me to quit the road and advance five or six paces into a ploughed field, to approach the brink of the hill, where I lay down in a furrow, in order that I might perceive her as soon as she began to ascend the hill on her return. I had not been above five minutes there, watching for the old woman, when I heard a movement, and saw a head, which I took, at first, for hers; but having distinguished the head of a horse, I lay down, as before, flat on the ground, with my face towards the road, where I saw eight or ten horsemen pass in the very place which I had quitted. They had scarcely passed when the old woman, who followed them closely, arrived, quite out of breath. I immediately rose and approached her. "Ah!" said she, in a transport of joy, and

trembling as if she had a fit of the ague,—"I did not expect to find you here." I begged her to calm herself, and take breath, not knowing at first what she alluded to; but as soon as she had somewhat regained her composure, she explained to me the cause of her alarm. She said, that the horsemen whom I had seen pass, were English dragoons, who had been searching the village with such strictness, and making use of such threats, that they had frightened the boatmen whom Mr. Graham had engaged to carry me over, so that they absolutely refused to perform their engagement. I censured her a little for her imprudence and thoughtlessness, in not acquainting me that the dragoons were in the village; for I had not only run the risk of being carried off by this detachment, if I had not, by mere chance, quitted the highway, where she told me to wait for her, but I was tempted several times, from my impatience at her stay, to go down to the village; which I should certainly have done, if I had known the situation of the alehouse in Broughty, or could have found it without asking for it from door to door: I should thus have thrown myself into the lion's mouth, through the folly and stupidity of this woman, who nearly brought me to the scaffold. What situation is so distressing as that in which our lives depend on the discretion of weak people! She told me that, on entering the public-house to find the boatmen, she was so much alarmed, on seeing it filled with soldiers, that she lost all presence of mind, and no longer knew what she was about.

At a time when I began to think my escape half secured by the certain passage of this arm of the sea, the refusal of the boatmen was a dreadful disappointment to me. I entreated the old woman to conduct me to the house where the boatmen were;

but she had no inclination to return, and excused herself, as she said it was quite useless to go, for the boatmen had been so intimidated by the menaces of the soldiers that they would not carry me over that night for all the money in the world; and concluded by informing me, that my wisest plan was to return to Mr. Graham's, who would find means to conceal me till the following night, when the boatmen would have recovered from their alarm. I could not endure the idea of measuring back my steps; and when I reflected that I was now on the shore of that very arm of the sea which had caused me so much uneasiness, and to arrive at which had been so ardently desired by me; that it was the most difficult to pass, on account of its proximity to the mountains, and the detachments of dragoons who were constantly patrolling in its vicinity; and that if I were so disposed I could overcome this difficulty,—I became more and more determined to advance, hoping to gain them over either by money or by fair words. I therefore assured the old woman that a more favourable opportunity than the present could never occur, as the dragoons, having discovered no trace of any rebels, would not think of examining the village a second time the same night. At length she yielded to my entreaties, and consented, though with some repugnance, to conduct me to the village.

As soon as I entered the public-house, the landlady, who was called Mrs. Burn, whispered in my ear that I had nothing to fear in her house, as her own son had been in our army with Lord Ogilvie: this I considered as a very good omen. She immediately pointed out to me the boatmen who had promised to Mr. Graham to transport me to the other side of the Frith. I applied to them immediately, but found them trembling and alarmed at the threats of the soldiers. All my offers, my prayers,

and solicitations were of no avail; and having employed half an hour in endeavouring to persuade them, to no purpose, I perceived that the two daughters of Mrs. Burn, who were as beautiful as Venus, and the eldest of whom was hardly eighteen, were not objects of indifference to the boatmen, from the glances they bestowed upon them from time to time. I therefore quitted the stupid boatmen and attached myself to these two pretty girls, with the view of gaining them over to my interest, and availing myself of their influence with the boatmen, as a mistress is naturally all-powerful with her lover. I caressed them, I embraced them, the one after the other, and said a thousand flattering and agreeable things to them. Indeed, it cost me very little to act this part, for they were exceedingly beautiful; and the compliments I paid them were sincere, and flowed from the heart. As I had resolved to sleep at Mrs. Burn's, in case I did not succeed in crossing the Frith, I dismissed the old woman.

In less than half an hour my two beauties were entirely in my interest, and each of them made a vigorous assault on her sweetheart, making use of all manner of prayers and intreaties, but with as little success as I had had. The fear of these stupid animals was more powerful than their love. The beautiful and charming Mally Burn, the eldest of the two, disgusted, at length, and indignant at their obstinacy, said to her sister, "O, Jenny! they are despicable cowards and poltroons. I would not for the world that this unfortunate gentleman was taken in our house. I pity his situation. Will you take an oar? I shall take another, and we will row him over ourselves, to the eternal shame of these pitiful and heartless cowards." Jenny consented without hesitation. I clasped them in my arms, and covered them, by turns, with a thousand tender kisses.

I thought, at first, that the generous resolution of these girls would operate upon their lovers; but the unfeeling cowards were not in the least moved. They preserved their phlegm, and allowed the charming girls to act as they pleased, without being in the smallest degree affected by their conduct. Seeing the obstinacy of the boatmen, and wishing to take advantage of the offer of my female friends, I immediately took the two oars on my shoulders, and proceeded to the shore, accompanied by my two beauties. I launched the boat, and, as soon as we had all three entered, I pushed it into deep water, and taking one of the oars myself, I gave the other to one of the girls, who was to be relieved by the other, when she found herself fatigued. I experienced, on this occasion, the truth of the maxim, that every kind of knowledge may be useful. While I was in Russia, where parties of pleasure on the water are frequent, I used sometimes to amuse myself with rowing; little thinking then that I should one day be obliged to row for my life.

We left Broughty at ten o'clock in the evening, and reached the opposite shore of this arm of the sea, which is about two miles in breadth, near midnight. The weather was fine, and the night was sufficiently clear, from the light of the stars, to enable me to distinguish the roads. My two beauties landed with me, to put me in the highway that leads to St. Andrews; and I took leave of them, deeply affected with their generous sentiments and heroic courage, experiencing a sensible regret on quitting them, when I thought that perhaps I should never see them more. I embraced them a thousand times by turns, and as they would not consent to receive any pecuniary gratification, I contrived to slip ten or twelve shillings into the pocket of the charming Mally, who was one of the most perfect beauties nature ever

formed, with an elegant shape, and possessed of all the graces of her sex. Under any other circumstances, they would have tempted me to prolong my stay in their village; and if fortune had ever permitted me to return to my native country, I should certainly have gone to Broughty, for the express purpose of visiting them.

I could never form beforehand any fixed plan with respect to what I should do, or what road I should take. A thousand obstacles, difficult to surmount, sprung up at every step, whilst, at the same time, unforeseen circumstances operated in my favour. Always attentive to preserve my coolness and my presence of mind, in order to extricate myself from troublesome and unexpected dilemmas, and to seize with rapidity the favourable conjunctures which fortune, equally inconstant in her favour as in her disfavour, might throw in my way, I laid my account with a mixture of toward and untoward accidents, though I was uncertain whether the one or the other would predominate. During my passage, I could not recollect any person of my acquaintance in the whole extent of country between the two arms of the sea, as most of the gentlemen of the shire of Fife had taken up arms in favour of Prince Charles, and were in the same situation with myself. At length I thought of applying to my relation, Mrs. Spence. Our grandmothers were daughters of Douglas Baron of Whittingham, a branch of the house of the Duke of Douglas. She had an estate in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, and generally resided in that town; but St. Andrews was always the most fanatical town in all Scotland; famous on account of the assassination in former times of Cardinal Beaton, its archbishop. It was full of the accursed race of Calvinists, hypocrites, who cover over their crimes with the veil of religion; fraudulent and dis-

honest in their dealings; who carry their holy dissimulation so far as to take off their bonnets to say grace when they take even a pinch of snuff; who have the name of God constantly in their mouths, and hell in their hearts. No town ever so much deserved the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. However, I resolved to go there; it was a sea-port, and the hope of being able to find a passage to a foreign country, through the means of Mrs. Spence, was a strong inducement.

I travelled all night, and when day began to appear I sat down on the banks of a stream to ease my feet, as my toes were bruised, and cut to the very bone, as with a razor, by my coarse peasant's stockings and shoes. When I pulled off my shoes, to bathe my feet, I found them filled with blood. The bathing rendered the pain less violent and intolerable. I remained two hours with my feet in the stream, during which time I felt a sweet serenity pervade my whole frame, and a tranquillity of mind, such as I had felt at Samuel's when I awoke from the dream that had induced me to set out for Edinburgh, though I was worn out with fatigue, and in a condition to excite compassion in the hardest heart. I was perfectly prepared for death, and I invoked the Supreme Being, with great fervour, to take pity on my sufferings, and put an end, at once, to my miserable existence. The aspect of death, however alarming at another time, had then nothing terrible to me; on the contrary, I looked upon my dissolution as the greatest good that could befall me. I bitterly regretted that I did not meet my fate in the battle of Culloden, where I escaped so narrowly, and envied the fate of my comrades, who remained dead on the field of battle. The horrible idea of the hangman, with a knife in his hand, ready to open my body whilst yet alive; to tear out my heart and throw it into the fire,

still palpitating, — the punishment inflicted on all those who had the misfortune to be taken and condemned, — always haunted my imagination. I could not get rid of the impression that I should also be taken; and the prospect of perishing in this manner on a scaffold, in presence of a cruel and brutal populace, almost tempted me to abridge my days upon the banks of the stream. My life had become a burden to me; and, in such circumstances, the pleasure of existing seemed to me of very little value. But how wonderful the effects of hope, the least ray of which supports the unfortunate against the strongest evidence of inevitable danger, inspires him with supernatural courage, pours a balm even into mortal wounds, and disarms the hand prepared for self-destruction! Could Providence have given to man a more useful and efficacious source of consolation? And, fortunately, the wretched are never slow to embrace the illusions of hope. They see nothing in their projects, except the termination of their misfortunes: on that all their calculations are founded. I implored the Almighty, if it was my fate to perish by the executioner, that he would, at least, prevent me from languishing any longer between life and death, in a cruel state of uncertainty dreadful to bear.

I put on my stockings and shoes, and rose to proceed on my way; but I found I could scarcely stand upright. My stockings and shoes being hardened with blood, as soon as I attempted to stir, I felt a pain that cut me to the heart. I took them off again, and put my feet once more in the water; and having soaked my stockings and shoes in the stream for half an hour to soften them, I found myself in a condition to walk, and I proceeded on my journey. After an hour's walk, I met a countryman who told me that I was still four miles from St. Andrews: I flattered myself that

he was mistaken; but I found, in the end, that these four miles were as long as the leagues in the environs of Paris. According to the account of this man, I had travelled ten of these miles since quitting the boat at midnight. I arrived at St. Andrews about eight o'clock in the morning, very much fatigued. It was Sunday, and the streets were filled with people, who stopped me continually to learn news of the rebels. I always answered, that I knew nothing of them, as I had only come from Dundee; a town almost as fanatical as St. Andrews itself. I inquired for Mrs. Spence's house on entering the town, and having found it, I told her maid-servant that I had a letter for her mistress, which I must deliver into her own hands. She conducted me to her chamber, where she was still in bed, and immediately retired. My cousin did not, at first, recollect me under my disguise, but having examined me for a moment, she exclaimed, shedding a flood of tears, "Ah! my dear child, you are inevitably lost! How could you think of coming to St. Andrews, and particularly to a house so much suspected as mine?" (She was a Roman Catholic.) "The mob yesterday," added she, "arrested the son of my neighbour, Mr. Ross, who was disguised, like you, as a countryman, before he had been a quarter of an hour in his father's house; and he is now actually loaded with irons in the prison of Dundee."

I did not expect such a reception; but I was sensible of the false step I had taken, and very anxious to extricate myself from it. I therefore entreated her to calm herself, as a contrary conduct would be the sure means of ruining me, by exciting suspicion in her servants. As soon as she had recovered herself a little, she wrote a letter to her farmer, who lived a quarter of a league from the town, requesting him to give me a horse, and

conduct me to Wemyss, a village on the shore of the arm of the sea, which I had yet to cross before reaching Edinburgh, and about ten miles distance from St. Andrews. This was precisely what I most desired; for I was overcome with fatigue, and with the deplorable state of my feet. She stated in the letter to the farmer, that she was sending me to Edinburgh with papers which were urgently wanted, nay absolutely necessary for a law-suit, which was to be decided in that city in the course of a few days. I took leave immediately of my cousin, without sitting down in her house, and set off with a little girl, whom she sent to conduct me to her farmer, taking bye-roads through gardens to avoid appearing in the streets of this execrable town. As soon as I was fairly out of the town, the flattering idea of obtaining a horse to Wemyss gave me new force and courage to support my sufferings.

I delivered the letter to the farmer, and the answer I received from this brute petrified me. "Mrs. Spence," said he, "may take her farm from me and give it to whom she pleases; but she cannot make me profane the Lord's day, by giving my horse to one who means to travel upon the sabbath." I represented to him, with all the energy of which I was master, the necessity of having his horse, on account of the law-suit of Mrs. Spence, and the great loss with which any delay in transmitting her papers to her advocate might be attended; but all that I could urge had no effect upon him, and he obstinately persisted in his refusal.

This holy rabble never scrupled to deceive and cheat their neighbours on the Lord's day, as well as other days, nor to shed the blood of such unfortunate gentlemen as they made prisoners in their infernal excursions, though they had done them no harm, and were even unknown to them. These

hypocrites, the execration and refuse of the human race, with their eyes continually turned towards heaven, avail themselves of every thing that is sacred, as a mask, by which they may deceive more easily: and, unfortunately, the spirit of hypocrisy is to be found equally in all religions.

I cannot help entertaining a strong distrust of all those who make an ostentatious display of their zealous observance of the ceremonial part of religion, and of outward devotion. Their actions seldom agree with their professions. True piety has its seat in the heart, and withdraws itself from the applause of the public. I was not afraid of this vermin in the open country or in villages; for bad and cruel people are always cowardly. These qualities are infallible symptoms of their want of courage. By blowing out the brains of one of the monsters, I should have effected my retreat with the other pistol in my hand, without opposition from any of these cowards; but I confess I was very uneasy during the quarter of an hour that I remained in St. Andrews.

Frustrated in my hopes of obtaining a horse, I immediately quitted the house of the farmer, without sitting down, and took the road to Wemyss. What a dreadful situation! The wounds in my feet were so painful as almost to deprive me of respiration. Not knowing any one to whom I could apply in the village of Wemyss, if I should be able to walk these ten miles; foreseeing the risk I should run, of being seized in the public house where I might pass the night; in short, not knowing what to do, nor what to make of myself, I fortunately came to a stream, half a league from the infernal town. I went about a musket-shot from the road, and having taken off my shoes and stockings, I found the wounds of my feet considerably augmented, and the

blood flowing from them in torrents. I bathed my feet in the stream as before, and soaked my shoes and stockings, which were full of blood, but my lameness was not the greatest of my misfortunes. My mind was as much lacerated and tormented as my body. The hopes, in which I had fondly indulged of receiving an asylum and assistance from my cousin Spence, were vanished into air, and the ten long miles from Broughty to St. Andrews, had been travelled in vain.

In vain I tortured my imagination to find out some resource: I could find none. The castle of Lord Rollo was on the same side of the arm of the sea, but it was twenty-five miles to the westward of St. Andrews. I was convinced of the friendship of his lordship, and the good wishes of the whole family; but how was it possible, exhausted with fatigue, and lame as I then was, to get there? It was several days' journey for me: besides, supposing I should be able to reach it, it was still farther from Edinburgh than the place where I then was. I knew not what to do. However, as I saw no other feasible project, I determined at length to embrace it, and to go there by short journeys, sleeping always in the fields, and avoiding the towns and villages, as much as possible, that lay in my way.

Whilst my body was worn out with pain and fatigue, and my mind was cruelly agitated and lost in a labyrinth of reflections, I recollected all of a sudden, a chamber-maid of my mother, married two years before to George Lillie, gardener to Mr. Beaton of Balfour, whose mansion was about half a league from the village of Wemyss. As this woman had taken great care of my mother, during a long illness, my father, as a reward for her attachment, was at the expence of the wedding. I knew that Lillie was a Calvinist, and the most furious and extravagant fanatic in that

part of the country; but in consequence of the kindness which had been shown to him by my family, I was not afraid of any treachery on his part, supposing he should even refuse to render me any service; and in case he received me into his house, I knew I should be quite secure with him. The recollection of Lillie and his wife, produced such an instantaneous effect on me, that I immediately jumped up to walk, without thinking of my stockings and shoes, and without perceiving that I had not sufficiently reposed myself, as it was not above a quarter of an hour since I had sat down. I felt no longer either uneasiness or pain.

A sect of philosophers maintained, that there are no real pleasures or pains; and that our different sensations depend on the attention which we fix on our enjoyments or sufferings. It is certain, that, in this moment of absence, I felt no longer the pain in my feet, however violent it was; but my dream was of short duration. This system of philosophy would be a great blessing to the human race, if it could teach us the art of withdrawing our attention from painful sensations when we please.

I had eaten nothing since my repast in the inclosure at Duntroon: Mr. Graham made me fill my pockets with bread and cheese; but my mind had been too much agitated to allow me to feel hunger. My appetite, however, now returned with my hopes of finding refuge with Lillie, and drawing my bread and cheese from my pocket, I made a hearty meal of it, whilst my stockings and shoes were soaking in the water. My strength and courage returned at the same time; and having rested for a couple of hours, and put paper over the wounds of my feet, to prevent the friction of my coarse stockings and shoes, I proceeded on my journey, and walked six miles without stopping. I had now gone

half the way from St. Andrews to Wemyss, and I had only to walk four miles to reach Balfour. The impatience of my desire to arrive there, made me feel less acutely my fatigue and my pain. I found on my way another stream, where I rested myself, and repeated my former operations with respect to my feet. My toes were now in a most wretched condition, bruised and cut to the very bone. The marks of these wounds and bruises will remain on them as long as I live. Indeed, the second toe of my left foot was put quite out of joint by this cruel day. However, my sufferings, poignant as they were, did not prevent me from finishing the remaining four miles to Balfour, and I arrived there about nine o'clock in the evening, with a joy and pleasure surpassing all imagination. When I found myself within a step of Lillie's house, I eagerly seized the door with both hands, to prevent my falling on the ground. My strength was totally exhausted, and I could not have proceeded one step farther, to escape even the scaffold; scarcely could my legs support me when I leaned against the door. What an additional strength is given to us by necessity, and the desire to preserve our existence in such a case as mine, and what incredible efforts they enable us to make! Having knocked, Lillie opened the door, but did not recognise me in my disguise of a beggar. He said to me several times with impatience and evident alarm, "Who are you?—What is your business?—Or whom do you want?" I made no reply, but advanced inside of the door, lest he should shut it in my face. This added to his alarm; and it was evident that he took me for some robber or housebreaker, for he trembled from head to foot. I asked him if there were any strangers in the house? His wife, who was sewing near the fire, knew my voice, and perceiving my dress, she called out immediately to her husband, "Good God, I know him;

quick—shut the door." Lillie obeyed, without farther examining me, and following me to the light, also recognised me. I could scarce suppress a laugh, notwithstanding my pain, at the look of amazement of Lillie, when he recognised me under my disguise. Confounded, lost in astonishment, and petrified, he clasped his hands, and with uplifted eyes, exclaimed, "O, this does not surprise me! My wife and I were talking about you last night; and I said, that I would bet any thing in the world, that you were with that accursed race." I answered that he was in the right to conclude I was, from the principles of attachment to the house of Stuart in which I had been educated. "But, at present, my good George," continued I, "you must aid me in escaping the gallows!"

It was a severe and humiliating trial, for Lillie to be obliged, from gratitude, to give an asylum to a rebel, and to find himself under the necessity of succouring one of those very men whom he had so loudly condemned! No one in that neighbourhood had, on all public occasions, held forth with more zeal and eloquence, against the Pope and the Pretender, who were always coupled together. He was, however, an honest man, notwithstanding his fanatical principles. He assured me that he was deeply affected with my situation, and would do every thing in his power to save me, and to procure me a passage to the other side as soon as possible. Finding that I was utterly helpless, and incapable of stirring either leg or arm, Lillie and his wife took off my shoes and stockings; and as all the gardeners in Scotland have an empirical knowledge of medicine, Lillie having bathed my feet with whiskey, which made me suffer the most excruciating pain, afterwards applied a salve to them. They then drew on a pair of Lillie's stockings and slippers; after which, I found myself relieved, and quite a new person.

I sent Lillie with my compliments to Mr. Beaton, his master, begging him not to take it amiss if his gardener should not be at his work at the usual hour, as I was concealed in his house, and had need of his services. Mr. Beaton sent back Lillie immediately to tell me, that he was exceedingly sorry that he could not wait upon me in person, as he had been unwell for some time past, and was just then going to bed; that it was also out of his power to offer me a bed in his house, where I would have been more conveniently lodged than at Lillie's; but that he begged me most earnestly to send freely to him for whatever I might have occasion for. He wished that Lillie should take with him some wine, fowls, and other articles; but whatever desire Lillie might have that I should fare well in his house, he very prudently refused this offer, lest, as he told me, it should have excited a suspicion amongst the servants of Mr. Beaton, that he had some person concealed in his house. I praised Lillie very much for his prudence and discretion.

Mrs. Lillie soon prepared a dish of steaks for my supper, which I devoured in haste, as I had more inclination to sleep than to eat, having been two days and nights on my legs, and without any sleep, except during the few hours I passed in the inclosure of Mr. Graham. Lillie having undressed me, carried me to bed in his arms, as it was utterly impossible for me to put a foot to the ground. I slept without waking from ten o'clock that evening, till half past nine on the following evening, as Mrs. Lillie took particular care not to make the least noise, nor would she even wake me, to receive the visit of Mr. Beaton, who had called on me.

As nothing restores an exhausted frame so much as sleep, the most precious gift of Heaven in the hour of suffering and distress,

I found myself greatly refreshed, and in all respects well, excepting that I suffered greatly from my feet. Mrs. Lillie had a fowl ready to put to the fire as soon as I awoke, and I ate it in bed. Lillie took off the dressing which he had applied to my feet, and replaced it by another. He told me that his mother-in-law kept a public house in the village of Wemyss, much frequented by fishermen, and perhaps she would be able to procure some person of her acquaintance, willing to carry me across the arm of the sea, and he proposed that I should accompany him to her house, if I were in a condition to walk. I was not sorry that in his desire to get rid of me, he was as eager that I should escape, as I was myself. He offered me a horse on the part of Mr. Beaton; but, before accepting it, I wished to try my strength, and see whether I could perform the journey on foot. Having risen, I walked round the room, supported on his arm, and I found I could do without the horse. Mrs. Lillie had, while I slept, been so good as to cut off the feet of my coarse stockings, and to put stuff soles to them; but I still suffered much from my feet.

We set out about half past ten o'clock at night, and I walked with difficulty; suspended rather than resting on the arm of Lillie, he dragged me after him; but the hope of finding an opportunity to cross this arm of the sea, and reaching Edinburgh, made me endure a pain, which, at any other time, would have appeared unsupportable. Whilst we were on the road, I said to him, jocularly, "My good Lillie, if I should actually be taken in your company, what a figure you would cut! You would never dare to show your face again in any of your holy assemblies; your reputation as a good Calvinist would be blasted for ever." He heaved a deep sigh, and exclaimed, "Ah! Sir, do not speak

of that." I burst into a laugh, and continued,—"It is true, Lillie, you would not be embowelled alive like me; but your character would be lost for ever with your brethren." I amused myself during the road with similar observations, and I had the pleasure of remarking, that he considered his honour as every way engaged, and that he would try every means to procure me a passage, as much from the fear of my being discovered along with him, as from the wish of making a merit of it with my family.

When we arrived at the house of his mother-in-law, she told us, that of all the fishermen of Wemyss, she knew no one on whom we could rely, except a person of the name of Salmon, adding that he was a very zealous Calvinist, and a violent enemy of the house of Stuart, but in other respects an honest man, and much distinguished in the village for his probity and good conduct. She thought we might apply to him with perfect safety; as, in case he should not be disposed to serve us, he was too honest a man to do us any injury.

We went immediately to Salmon's. It was about midnight; and we found him already up, and preparing his nets to go out a fishing. As he knew Lillie's voice he opened the door to us. Lillie, after considerable struggles with himself, at length broke silence, and, in a plaintive tone of voice, and with an air of humility, shame, and embarrassment, said,—"My friend Salmon, this is the only son of the mistress of my wife. He has been imprudent and foolish enough to join that accursed race who seek to destroy our religion and enslave us. You see, my friend, the dreadful situation to which he has brought himself! Every body knows the kindness which his family showed to my wife and me at our marriage. I honour and respect them; and I am much afraid, if he should be taken, that he would cause the death of both mo-

ther and father, for they are greatly attached to him, being their only son. I come, my friend Salmon, to entreat you, with uplifted hands, to give him a passage to-morrow in your boat, when you go to Leith to sell your fish."

The pathetic manner in which Lillie spoke to Salmon, gave me much pleasure; but the answer, pronounced in a rough tone, by no means pleased me, and left me little hopes of success. "You deserve, indeed," said Salmon, "to have your life saved! you, who wished to abolish our holy religion, destroy our liberties, and make all of us slaves! No, Lillie, he applies to the wrong person, when he comes to me. I will do him no harm; I am not capable of informing against him; he is in perfect safety in that respect; but he must not expect that I will ever do any service to him, or any other of the accursed race of rebels." I offered him all the money which I still possessed, about six guineas, to convey me over next morning in his boat; but he would hear no more on the subject. Seeing that he was not to be gained over by money, as he was by no means interested, and that he bore on his countenance the stamp of an honest man,—a much more expressive mirror than his gesture, his language, or even his accent,—I could not think of abandoning my enterprise. I had offered him all my money, without producing the least impression on him. I hoped, however, to gain him over through his feelings. As he kept an ale-house, I asked him, at least, to do me the pleasure of drinking a bottle of beer with us. He consented, and I did not spare the beer, taking glass for glass with them; without, however, speaking a single word about my passage; but always attentive to insinuate myself into his good graces, to render him favourable to my wishes.

After passing an hour in this way, he turned towards Lillie, and said to him, "What a pity, that this poor young man *should have*

been debauched and perverted by this worthless rebel crew! He is a fine lad!" Lillie artfully took advantage of this favourable indication to drop a word or two in my favour, and observed, that by that time I heartily repented of what I had done. I pretended not to hear them; but I saw that my affairs were in an excellent train, and I did not fail to push about the small beer, which was as weak as water. At length I played my part so well, and gained the friendship of Salmon so completely, that this honest man offered me, all of a sudden, a passage in his boat next morning, and would not hear of any money, being actuated merely by a pure and noble feeling of generosity. I had not, indeed, a difficult part to play with poor Salmon, who was a truly virtuous man, highly respected by the whole village, for his pure and upright conduct, as the mother of Mrs. Lillie had represented him to me; and a virtuous man is never hard-hearted, but always susceptible of compassion and humanity for the unfortunate. Virtue always pleases us in whatever class of men we find it, and we are always predisposed in favour of the possessor. Hence, we are not obliged to do violence to our own feelings, in saying flattering and obliging things to a worthy man, however low his situation in life may be, as we are when obliged to say them to a nobleman of the first rank without merit, whose elevation is the effect of chance.

Salmon was only part-owner of a boat, which he shared with several other fishermen, and it was necessary for him to manage matters with his associates. He advised me to conceal myself in a cavern, which looks towards the sea, at the distance of a gun-shot from Wemyss, till the break of day; when it was agreed, that, as soon as the fishing-boats returned into the harbour, I should come down, and ask, at the boat in which Salmon was, if they would give me a passage to Leith for money. That he would

answer in the affirmative, and then settle with his associates as to the price; and that if any one in the boat should make objections, he would endeavour to overcome the objections. Salmon and Lillie taught me, at the same time, the peculiarities of the dialect of that part of the country, in which I should speak on the occasion. When I quitted Salmon, I slipped a guinea into his hand, telling him that this was only earnest-money, but he made some difficulty in taking it, observing that I ought to know, that it was not interest that induced him to render me this service. Lillie, having accompanied me to the cavern, took leave of me to return home, after offering me an asylum in his house, in case this opportunity should fail. Although I looked upon my passage as certain, I was by no means displeased at the idea of a safe retreat at Lillie's, as it was impossible to foresee what unfortunate accidents might happen.

This cavern is one of the most remarkable of the antiquities of Scotland, and, according to tradition, was, in former times, a heathen temple. It is dug under a hill. Its entrance is about five feet high, and three wide; and the foot of the hill is about thirty paces from the sea-shore. It is very high and spacious within, and appears to be of an immense depth. An adventure, which happened in this cavern to King James the Fourth of Scotland, has given celebrity to it. * The King, who used to amuse himself in wandering about the country, in different disguises, was overtaken by a violent storm, in a dark night, and obliged to take shelter in the cavern. Having advanced some way in it, he discovered a number of men and women ready to begin to a roast sheep, by way of supper.

* It is called, in allusion to the frolic of King James, the *Court Cave*.—See Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xvi. p. 531.

From their appearance he began to suspect that he had not fallen into the best company; but, as it was too late to retreat, he asked hospitality from them till the tempest was over. They granted it, and invited the King, whom they did not know, to sit down, and take part with them. They were a band of robbers and cut-throats. As soon as they had finished their supper, one of them presented a plate, upon which two daggers were laid in form of a St. Andrew's cross, telling the King, at the same time, that this was the dessert, which they always served to strangers; that he must choose one of the daggers, and fight him whom the company should appoint to attack him. The King did not lose his presence of mind, but instantly seized the two daggers, one in each hand, and plunged them into the hearts of the two robbers who were next him; and running full speed to the mouth of the cavern, he escaped from their pursuits through the obscurity of the night. The King ordered the whole of this band of cut-throats to be seized next morning, and they were all hanged.

I went a little into the cavern, and, having thrown myself on the ground, I dozed for about an hour; when I was awakened by the most horrible and alarming cries that ever were heard. I began at first, to suspect the fidelity of Salmon, notwithstanding the very favourable opinion that I had formed of him, imagining that this was a detachment of soldiers whom he had sent to take me prisoner. I buried myself in the interior of the cavern, holding a pistol, ready cocked, in each hand, advancing always till I could place my back against the wall, in order that I might be the better able to defend myself. I then began to examine the noise with attention, and from the velocity in the movement of the object which caused the noise, I soon became convinced that it did not proceed from men; and men alone I dreaded at that time; for

sometimes the object was about my ears, and nearly stunned me and, in an instant, at a considerable distance, moving with an incredible swiftness and rapidity. At length I ceased to examine any more this horrible and incomprehensible phenomenon; which made a noise and confusion like that of a number of trumpets and drums, with a mixture of different sounds altogether unknown to me.

I approached the entrance of the cavern, without any further inclination to sleep; and when day began to appear, I fixed my eyes on the sea to observe the movements of the fishing-boats, which were about a quarter of a league from land. As soon as I saw them enter the harbour, I left the cavern, and followed exactly the lesson that Salmon had given me. Unfortunately for me, his boat had been very unsuccessful, and his associates had obliged him to sell their fish to another boat, having caught so few that it was not worth their while to go to Leith to sell them. I asked, if they would give me a passage to Leith for money; when Salmon replied, "very willingly," and joined his companions to settle the price with them. They all agreed to take me over for half-a-crown; upon which I felt an inexpressible pleasure.

Having concluded our agreement, I was proceeding to enter the boat, when, that moment, Salmon's wife arrived, swearing and bawling that she would not allow her husband to go that day to Leith, where he had nothing to do, as his boat had sold their fish, especially with a stranger; there appeared to her something mysterious in the business, which she could not comprehend. What a terrible disappointment! I cursed this mischievous vixen in my heart, but that availed me nothing; and Salmon, who was the weaker party, was obliged to submit to his wife. I

was prudent enough to take no part in their dispute; fearing, from the suspicions she threw out, lest she might have overheard our conversation in the night, whilst we were drinking our beer; for I was not aware that Salmon was married, and that his wife was sleeping in the room in which we were; I therefore yielded with a good grace, and with an air of indifference. Salmon proposed our drinking a bottle of beer together, and I consented; when, mounting the stairs, he slipped the guinea into my hand which I had given him, saying, "You see, Sir, I am not the master. I wish, with all my heart, that you may have the good fortune to escape, and I am extremely sorry that I have not the means of contributing to it." I admired the honesty of Salmon; for he might not only have kept the guinea, by informing against me, and have got my purse and watch, but also have obtained a considerable reward, which the government paid for every rebel taken prisoner. His generous conduct was so much the more meritorious, as he was a decided enemy of the House of Stuart, and totally unacquainted with me. Humanity alone, and a noble soul, made him act towards me with an elevation of sentiment superior to his condition in life.

I did not wish to proceed directly to the house of Mrs. Lillie's mother; for, as the cursed fishwoman had told her suspicions of me before every body, I was afraid of being followed: I therefore proceeded along the sea-shore, to return to the cavern, and when I came opposite to the mouth, I looked about me in every direction, and seeing no one, I immediately threw myself into it. I felt a strong desire to discover the cause of the extraordinary noise which had disturbed me so much the preceding night, and of which I could form no idea. I advanced

about thirty or forty paces in the dark, having even lost sight of the entrance, when the same loud noise was renewed. On clapping my hands and shouting, the noise increased a thousand-fold, and absolutely stunned me. I even felt the wind caused by the rapid movement of these unknown objects, which incessantly approached quite close to me, as if with an intention to attack me. I drew back till I could see the light from the entrance of the cavern, when I began to clap my hands and redouble my shouts, and then I saw numberless owls and other birds fly out. The terrible noise of these birds cannot be compared to any sounds which I have ever heard. Their screams, and the noise of their wings while flying, were confounded together by the echo of the cavern, and formed together a noise which pierced my very ears; and the impetuosity of their flight resembled a tempest. If I had not coolly and thoroughly examined into the cause of so singular an effect, I should never have known what to think of it; and, I have no doubt, if a pious hermit had been in my place he would have placed the adventure to the account of supernatural agency, and would have given as romantic an account of the miracles and ghosts seen by him, as that of the good Saint Anthony: for enthusiasm is always closely allied to credulity and simplicity. I coolly endeavoured to discover something of which I had no idea, and which I could not comprehend: comparing attentively all the circumstances, I prepared to defend myself with my pistols, should it have been any ferocious animal; but at that moment I was only afraid of man, as the most wicked and malicious of all animals.

I returned to the house of Mrs. Lillie's mother, after remaining half an hour in the cavern, and told her how I had lost the most favourable opportunity for crossing the arm of the sea, with

every possible appearance of success, through the wickedness of Salmon's wife, after I had made the proper arrangements with the husband; and I earnestly intreated her to endeavour to procure some person who would carry me over as soon as possible, at any price. She immediately introduced a person into my room without previously giving me any information respecting him, merely announcing him as an officer of the customs in the service of King George. I imagined she had either lost her senses, or wished to betray me; but I was still more astonished when she began to tell him, that I had been with Prince Charles. The officer, perceiving my uneasiness, begged me not to be alarmed; adding, that he had been himself in a similar situation in the year 1715; that, having lost his property, he was reduced to the cruel necessity of accepting a mean employment under the Usurper, in order to procure a livelihood; but that his attachment and wishes for the prosperity of the House of Stuart were still the same.

Having recovered from my alarm, I asked him if he could recommend me any honest man who would undertake to convey me across the Frith. He replied, that there was one David Cousselain, sexton of the meeting of Non-jurors, in the village of Wemyss, a very honest man, and zealously disposed to render any service to all who belonged to the party of Prince Charles, and that I could not apply to a better person than to him. He immediately went out in quest of him, and returned with him in a few minutes. Cousselain said, that he would very willingly take one oar, if he could find any one who would join him; and he proposed conducting me to the house of Mr. Robertson, in the village of Dubbieside, half a league from Wemyss, in order to borrow his boat. He informed me that Mr. Robert-

son was secretly attached to the Prince's party, and would do every thing in his power to oblige me.

We set off immediately for Dubbieside. Cousselain cautioned me, as we had two bad villages to pass through in our way, in case any questions were put to me, to call myself John Cousselain, weaver in Culross *, the name and trade of his brother, whom nobody knew in that neighbourhood; and if they should suspect me for a rebel, he would claim me, and maintain, against all and sundry, that I was actually his brother. I was dreadfully afraid of my new trade of a weaver. When I was merely a servant, it was easy for me to act my part, as I had done in the service of Mrs. Menzie, and Samuel; but if I were arrested on suspicion, and obliged to show that I could work at my new trade of weaver, I knew I should immediately be discovered and ruined without remedy. However there was no trade which suited me better on this occasion. Mr. Robertson told me, with a smile, that he would not lend me his boat, but that he would willingly permit Cousselain to carry it off, if he could find another person to assist him in rowing me to the other side; that, as for himself, he did not know one single person in Dubbieside in whom he could confide. He advised me to call on Mr. Seton, a gentleman living in Dubbieside, whose eldest son had been in our army. I did not know the father, but I had been an intimate friend of the son. I was not, however, aware that his father lived in Dubbieside, and I was quite charmed at this discovery.

Having found Mr. Seton at home, I acquainted him with my name, and my intimacy with his son. He immediately desired me

* In the original *Courisse*. — This is nearly the French expression of the manner in which *Culross* is pronounced by the people of that part of Scotland. — There is also a *Cires*, two or three miles from *Cupar*, in Fifeshire.

to walk into the parlour, where he tired me to death with a thousand questions, which I knew not what to make of, with a number of abrupt and disjointed observations, receiving me in the coldest manner possible, which I could not possibly account for. After harassing me in this manner for half an hour, all of a sudden his son entered the parlour, and clasped me in his arms. He told me, that they had suspected me of being a spy sent to take him prisoner; and that, though he had examined me for half an hour, from head to foot, through a hole in the partition of the room, it was only that instant that he had been able to recognise me under my disguise. I was very glad to see young Seton again, particularly as I knew nothing of his fate since the battle of Culloden; and our pleasure at meeting was reciprocal. There is always a friendship between persons involved in the same misfortunes. He invited me to remain with him at his father's house; and his offer was the more agreeable to me, as Dubbieside was conveniently situated for my obtaining an opportunity of crossing the arm of the sea.

I took a walk every evening to Mrs. Lillie's mother's, in hopes that she would succeed in finding some person humane enough to join Cousselain: but, after a stay of eight days with my friend, at the end of which I was not one whit nearer my object than the first day of my arrival, we experienced a great alarm, which interrupted the happiness that I began to enjoy in the amiable society of Mr. Seton's family. Miss Seton having asked a fish-woman, whilst she was cheapening her fish at the door, if there were any news? the fish-woman answered, that the general talk was of a rebel, seen hovering every day along the coast as far as Wemyss, and who offered a great deal of money to the fishermen for a passage. She added that he would certainly be caught some day in his excursions. The alarm

which this piece of news occasioned us may easily be conceived; especially as I might have been followed as far as Mr. Seton's without my perceiving it. As there was every reason for fearing that Mr. Seton's house would be searched immediately, my companion in misfortune resolved to quit his father's house the same evening, and take refuge in the house of some friend, whilst I made up my mind to return to Lillie's; but I was determined to make a last effort, before I left Dubbieside, to cross the arm of the sea that very night. I sent for Cousselain who came immediately, and informed me, that, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he had not been able to find a single person who would join him. What a deplorable situation! To be so near Edinburgh, where all my wishes centered, and yet, at the same time, to be on the point of being obliged to remove farther from it, in order to bury myself in the heart of the country, and to abandon all thought of crossing the arm of the sea. The idea of retreating instead of advancing, threw my mind into the most cruel agitation, and chagrined me beyond measure.

Mr. Seton, a younger brother of my friend, a youth of eighteen years of age, who had made some voyages, seeing my distress, and touched with my situation, generously offered to take an oar with Cousselain, to row me across the Frith, which, from Dubbieside to Leith, is about three leagues in breadth. I accepted his obliging offer with gratitude, and at the same time with a determination to avail myself of it, my position excluding every thing like ceremony. His whole family encouraged him in his good and generous resolution; and we agreed to set out about nine o'clock in the evening.

Every thing seemed to favour me, and the passage of this arm of the sea, which had cost me so much trouble and anxiety, seemed to be placed beyond the reach of accident; but fortune

took a pleasure in raising up new obstacles to my deliverance. The noise which Seton and Cousselain made in launching the boat, alarmed the inhabitants of the village, who were not yet gone to bed: a cry was immediately heard, in every direction, that a rebel was attempting to escape; and Seton and Cousselain esteemed themselves fortunate in being able to escape from this hubbub without being discovered. I was quite furious on learning this unlucky accident. I durst not say any thing to Seton, as it was his kindness alone which had induced him to assist me; but my rage broke out against Cousselain with double fury. I reproached him bitterly for his stupidity in making so much noise in launching the boat, and treated him like a Negro. However, notwithstanding this unfortunate beginning, I was still determined to prosecute the undertaking, and to be present at their operations myself; and, with a fortunate obstinacy, the more objections were started against repeating the attempt that evening, the more I was determined to make it. Mr. Seton and all his family entreated me to defer the attempt till next night, alleging, that the inhabitants, being alarmed, would be on the look-out the whole night; and that it was, therefore, morally impossible for me to succeed. I answered, that it was useless to speak to me on the subject; that my resolution was decidedly taken; and that, rather than delay another night, I would embark alone, with an oar in each hand, and commit myself to Providence; and I certainly would have done so, however extravagant the attempt might appear, so bent was I on parting, and so enraged at not being able to find a single honest man among the fishermen who would join Cousselain to save my life; and so convinced at the same time, that I had no better prospect for the period to come.

An immoveable firmness in my resolutions has always been very useful to me. I reflected well, before coming to any determination, as to the part I should take, examining with impartiality the reasons for and against any measure, and considering the results which might naturally be expected from it. But, having once decided, no person could ever succeed in making me waver in my resolution, even in cases where there was no alternative but success or death, and where every one was against my opinion. I have always found my account in acting in this manner. Though obstinacy may, generally speaking, be a defect in a man's character, we must know our own affairs better than any other person can; and being the person chiefly interested, our mind exerts itself more to discover the resources of which we are in want. Hence, if we are endowed with good sense and discernment, our affairs will be more successfully conducted by ourselves than by the councils of others, who frequently, by their doubts, only shake our confidence in our opinions, and lead us astray. I told Cousselain to hold himself in readiness at ten o'clock, as I wished to make one more attempt; and I gave him some money to purchase the refreshment of which he might be in want for the passage.

Cousselain returned at the hour agreed on, but so drunk, that he could hardly stand, having employed the intervening hour to good purpose. Every thing seemed to conspire against me; I cursed and swore, but I was resolved to persevere. I replied, to the new solicitations that were made me to remain, that Cousselain being required to bring back the boat, he might sleep and become sober during the passage, whilst I rowed with Mr. Seton; that that was the only inconvenience; and that I should certainly take my departure that night. I took Cousselain on my back,

and stretched him out in the bottom of the boat, which Mr. Seton and I launched without the least noise, and taking each of us an oar we began to row with all our strength. As soon as we were about fifty paces from the shore, and safe from any disturbance on the part of the inhabitants, I began to breathe again, and felt my heart as if relieved from a heavy load.

An easterly wind arose, which tossed our little boat in a dreadful manner. Seton was greatly alarmed, and he had good reason to be so; for had a wave broken against our boat it would have filled it with water, and sunk us. I kept encouraging him always; though, in any other situation, I should have been as much alarmed as himself; for with every wave we were in the greatest danger of being swallowed up. But I was then afraid only of the scaffold, and every other danger made a slight impression on me. We had another danger to encounter, besides that of the winds and waves, in the drunken Cousselain, in the bottom of the boat, who wished to rise every moment, and several times nearly overset us, so that we were obliged to kick him most unmercifully in order to keep him quiet; and to threaten to throw him overboard, in case he made the least movement in future: we had no other means of making him listen to reason. Seton and myself rowed like galley-slaves. We succeeded in landing, about six o'clock in the morning, on a part of the coast a league and a half to the east of Edinburgh. As the Frith gradually widens towards the east, it was at least four or five leagues in breadth where we crossed. I tenderly embraced young Seton, thanking him, from the bottom of my soul, for the essential services he had rendered me: and I gave Cousselain, who began to become somewhat sober, a gratification much beyond his hopes. They re-embarked immediately, to return to Dubbieside,

whilst I made all the haste I could from the sea-shore, lest some countryman should have seen me land.

No felicity could surpass that which I felt on landing, after surmounting the greatest obstacles to my escape, especially the two arms of the sea, the crossing of which had cost me so much distress and grief, from the disappointments to which I had been continually exposed. I was now within reach of the assistance of my relations and friends. However, it was not without a good deal of pain and difficulty that I succeeded in crossing; for my hands were nearly in as bad a plight as my feet were in, ten days before, bleeding a great deal, and considerably swelled; but I did not much mind being lame in my hands for a few days, as I had not so much occasion for them, and my feet were now pretty well recovered. Having landed about a musket-shot from Gladsmuir, where we had obtained so brilliant a victory over the English; and, not daring to approach Edinburgh till it was dark, I determined to pass the whole day on the field of battle, in order to tranquillise my mind, and soften a little the rigours of our fate, by reflections on the past. We enjoy agreeable objects, but calamities lead us to reflect. The fortunate man seldom reasons: he alone is disposed to meditate who suffers, in order to derive, at least, some useful instruction, from the evils which surround him. Adversity, the great teacher of men, renders them wiser, and more prudent; it ripens the mind; the reiterated blows of misfortune force even frivolity itself to indulge in reflections.

While walking over the field of battle, that spot furnished to me a most striking picture of the vicissitudes of fortune, to which human nature is subject; and I compared my situation in that glorious day, when I discharged the functions of aide-de-camp to

the Prince, carrying his orders every where, and charged with the care of thirteen hundred English prisoners,—to my present state, covered with rags, in order to escape the scaffold; borne down with trouble and distress, and placing my only happiness in the hopes of escaping to some foreign country, and abandoning for ever the land which gave me birth, my relations, and friends; uncertain where I should find an asylum, or how I could procure the means of subsistence. How different the two conditions! I could not help thinking that Providence had so disposed matters, that we should land near the field of Gladsmuir, having been carried so far eastwards by the ebbing of the tide, rather than in the neighbourhood of Leith, where we intended to land; in order to impress more strongly on my mind those lessons which will never be effaced from it. How much did I then desire to see some of the favourites of the Prince, whom the notice with which they were distinguished had rendered insolent, proud, and impertinent! I imagined I saw them — mean, servile, and cringing, in the now altered state of our affairs. I have seen them since, and I find I was not deceived in my conjectures; as their behaviour was precisely what I had anticipated.

The instability of fortune ought to teach men the importance of preserving consistency of character. If we do not allow ourselves to be blown up with prosperity, but conduct ourselves always with modesty and respectability, we shall not be cast down or become cringing in adversity. Arrogance and vanity are infallible marks of littleness of soul, and never fail to degenerate, in reverses of fortune, into the meanest servility; whilst a modest, mild, and beneficent man, will never allow himself to descend so low, whatever revolutions of fortune he may experience: however exalted the elevation from which he may fall, that fall will always

be accompanied by the esteem and regret of all good men, and he will always have the public voice in his favour. When happy, every one will rejoice at his good fortune; and when he experiences reverses, every one will be eager to console him.

In going over the ground, every step brought to remembrance some particulars of the battle. When I reached the spot where I saw thirteen hundred English prisoners, guarded by eighty Highlanders, I sat down to dine upon my bread and cheese, and a bottle of Canary wine, which Mr. Seton had made me take at parting. The remembrance of the glorious and inconceivable victory which we had obtained on this spot added to the extreme pleasure I felt in having passed the arm of the sea. As I was afraid of being recognised, if I went straight to Edinburgh, I resolved to seek an asylum in Leith, in the house of my old governess, Mrs. Blythe, who had been twenty-two years in the service of my mother, and particularly intrusted with the care of me, having received me from my nurse, when only a twelvemonth old.

The trouble and uneasiness which she continually experienced on my account, both from the dangerous illnesses to which I was subject in my youth, and the passionate, impetuous, and imprudent character which I possessed in common with most only sons, only served to increase her kindness and affection for me. She loved me as much as if I had been her own child. Mr. Blythe, the master of a small coasting-vessel, who was very rich, took a liking to her, when she was fifty, and offered her marriage; and the match was too advantageous to Margaret to allow her to hesitate as to the accepting it. It was three years since she had left our house to reside with her husband at Leith, and they lived very happily together. Blythe was a Calvinist, and the

sworn enemy of the house of Stuart; but as he was a man of much probity, I had nothing to fear from him. I therefore quitted Gladsmuir before sun-set, in order to reach his house in Leith after the night was set in.

On entering Mr. Blythe's, I thought the good woman would have stifled me with her caresses. She sprung to my neck, clasped me in her arms, and shed a torrent of tears of joy. As no one of my family knew what had become of me since the battle of Culloden, or whether I was dead or alive, for my brother-in-law Rollo had allowed them to remain in ignorance of his having seen me at Banff; as soon as the first transports of this good woman were over, I entreated her to go instantly to Edinburgh, and acquaint my father and mother that I was in perfect health in her house. I was the more eager to give them this intelligence, as Mrs. Blythe had informed me of their great uneasiness and distress on my account. During her absence Mr. Blythe shewed me all the hiding-places, which he had caused to be made in the partition of a room, for concealing the contraband goods, which he used to bring from foreign countries, in order, as he said, that I might take refuge in one of them, in case of surprise, and of his house being searched for me. I observed, that I was the most contraband and dangerous commodity that he had ever had in his possession, and that it was very possible they might still prove serviceable, although it was a long time since he had concluded he should no longer have occasion for them.

My impatience to give the earliest intelligence to my father, had made me forget to request Mrs. Blythe to bring me clothes; but I had the joy and satisfaction to see her return loaded with every thing necessary for me. It was indeed full time to quit my rags; for, besides a thousand other inconveniences to which

this disguise had subjected me, I found that they had given me the itch. However, as this disagreeable disease had yet made but little progress, I got rid of it in the course of twenty-four hours, by rubbing myself all over with butter and sulphur, and taking flower of brimstone internally. These rags had been of the greatest use to me, during the six weeks I had worn them; but I felt notwithstanding an incredible pleasure in throwing them off, and in being no longer obliged to disguise myself like a beggar. My father sent me word that he would call on me next morning, and pass the day with me.

Although I ardently desired to embrace my father, whom I had not seen since the month of October, when our army left Edinburgh, I nevertheless dreaded his presence, and the reproaches which he might make me, for having joined Prince Charles without his consent, and precipitated myself, by my own fault, into the miserable condition into which I was then plunged. As soon as it was known with certainty at Edinburgh, that the Prince had landed in the North-west Highlands, eager to have the merit of being amongst the first who repaired to his banners, and staked their fortune on the issue of his cause, I earnestly supplicated my father to grant me permission to join him immediately; but instead of granting my request, he expressly commanded me to renounce every idea of this nature, telling me, that it would be time enough to join the Prince when he should be in possession of Edinburgh; that, not being able to procure me a passport, as his principles and attachment to the house of Stuart were universally known, I should be arrested in my attempt to pass the first arm of the sea, and kept a prisoner during the whole expedition. In vain I represented to him, that the Prince would look more favourably on me if I joined his standard in the beginning, when

he had only a few hundred followers, than when in possession of the capital of his ancient kingdom of Scotland, the principal obstacles were overcome, and he had nothing more to do than to be crowned, — (for this was the light in which I viewed matters, though I was sadly deceived;) — my father was inexorable, and at last commanded me to be silent. Burning with desire to join the Prince, I went to dine next day with Lady Jane Douglas, sister of the Duke of Douglas, who had been my protectress from my infancy, in order to make her acquainted with my chagrin, and the conversation I had had with my father. This worthy lady highly approved of my reasons, and agreed that I ought to set out immediately, without consulting my father; and undertook to appease him, in case he should be enraged at my disobedience. This was precisely what I desired; and I set out next morning without saying a word on the subject to any one.

I found no difficulty in passing the arm of the sea, between Queensferry and Dunfermline. I put a black cockade in my hat, and entered the boat with an air of authority, telling those who examined the passports, that I was an officer in Lee's regiment, then quartered in Edinburgh, and that officers had no occasion for passports. On leaving the boat I went to the castle of Lord Rollo, where I remained two days, waiting the arrival of the Prince at Perth, which is two miles from it. When I returned to Edinburgh some time after with our army, my father said nothing about my going away without his consent; but then we were victorious and triumphant. Now every thing was changed; and those who bestowed praises on us in our prosperity, treated us, now that we were unfortunate, as hair-brained youths. This is the way with the world in general, who judge of things merely

by the event. If we had succeeded in placing the crown on the head of Prince Charles, of which there was even a great probability for some time, by conducting ourselves well after our victories, we should all have been celebrated as heroes. The loss of the battle of Culloden, which put an end to the contest between the houses of Stuart and Hanover, made us immediately rebels and madmen, in the eyes of those who are incapable of reflection, and who unfortunately are every where the majority.

My father came to visit me; but instead of reproving me, the good old man was so affected at seeing me again, that his eyes were filled with tears; and, locking me in his arms, he was for some time unable to utter a single word. As soon as we were a little composed, after this scene of mutual tenderness, I amused him with the recital of all the particulars of our expedition, since our departure from Edinburgh for England, and all that had happened to me personally since the battle of Culloden. He remained with me till nine o'clock in the evening, and the day passed over with the rapidity of lightning. I was deeply afflicted on learning that my mother was very ill, and had been obliged to keep her room for a long time; and I was still more so, when Mrs. Blythe told me, that her anxiety for me was the cause of her illness, and that the physicians thought her life in danger. My grief was natural, and well founded. She had always adored me with the most tender maternal affection. I proposed several projects to my father for going to see her, but he would not hear of it; alleging that I ran a risk of being discovered, and that if unfortunately I should be arrested, it would be the death of both of them. I therefore ceased to insist on seeing her. What a cruel situation! to be so

near a mother, whom I had such reason for loving tenderly, without being able to embrace her!

Leith, which is about a mile from Edinburgh, was then filled with Hessian and English troops, waiting for embarkation for Flanders. Two English sergeants called on Mr. Blythe with billets for lodging. This was a dreadful derangement for me; Mr. Blythe, however, contrived to get an exemption, and they went away. For an hour, during which these sergeants remained in the house, wrangling with Mr. Blythe about their lodging, I continued watching them through a hole which I had made in the partition, between two rooms; with the entry of the hiding-place open to receive me, in case I found they intended to search in the house for rebels. I saw poor Mrs. Blythe turn pale and change colour every minute, trembling like an aspen leaf; and I was much afraid lest her anxiety should induce the sergeants to suspect that there were some rebels concealed in the house. However, my fears were groundless.

I received information that Lady Jane Douglas* intended to

* The Duke of Douglas, brother of Lady Jane Douglas, represented one of the most ancient and illustrious houses in Europe, which had disputed for several centuries, the crown of Scotland with the family of Stuart. John Baliol had two daughters, the eldest of whom was married to the Earl of Douglas, and the other to Robert the Bruce, one of the greatest men that ever Scotland produced, and who delivered his country from the English, when they had almost succeeded in conquering the whole kingdom. It is impossible to say, why Robert Bruce succeeded to the crown of Scotland on the death of John Baliol, in preference to the house of Douglas, and he had only one daughter, who was married to the Steward or Stuart of Scotland, and he succeeded, in virtue of his wife, to his father-in-law, Robert the Bruce. The house of Stuart was little known in the history of Scotland before this period, when it was suddenly elevated to the sovereignty.

The house of Douglas always disputed the right of the Stuarts to the throne; and William the eighth Earl of Douglas, having more than half of the kingdom in his

pay me a visit *incognito*, in the afternoon of the following day, accompanied by Mr. Stewart, who became afterwards her husband,

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favour, headed a confederacy against James the Second. James proposed an interview between them in the castle of Stirling, and sent a safe conduct to the Earl of Douglas, who, too credulous and confiding in the promises of the King and the safe-conduct which he had received under the great seal of the kingdom, ventured to wait on the King in the castle of Stirling. The King, having in vain urged the Earl of Douglas to dissolve the confederacy, drew his dagger, and said, "If you will not break it, this shall," and immediately plunged it into his heart. The vassals of the Earl flew to arms, and dragging the safe-conduct, which the King had given and violated, at the tail of a horse, they burned the town of Stirling, and threatened to lay siege to the castle, where the King was. The King and the new Earl of Douglas met at Abercorn, at the head of their respective armies; that of the Earl's being much superior to the King's, both in number and valour. "Thus," says Robertson, in his History of Mary, from which I derive this note; "a single battle must, in all probability, have decided whether the house of Stuart or of Douglas was henceforth to possess the crown of Scotland. But, while his troops impatiently expected the signal to engage, the Earl ordered them to retire to their camp; and Sir James Hamilton of Cadyow, the person in whom he placed the greatest confidence, convinced of his want of genius to improve an opportunity, or of his want of courage to seize a crown, deserted him that very night. His example was followed by many; and the Earl, despised or forsaken by all, was soon driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to depend for his subsistence on the friendship of the King of England. The ruin of this great family, which so long rivalled and overawed the crown, and the terror with which such an example of unsuccessful ambition filled the nobles, secured the King, for some time, from opposition; and left the royal authority uncontrolled and almost absolute."

The Duke of Douglas and Lady Jane were the descendants of John Baliol, through his daughter. The archives of this illustrious house prove their descent from Sholto Douglas, the founder of their family, who received from Selvathius, King of Scotland, in 770, the earldom of Douglas, as a recompense for his valour and success in the war which Solvathius carried on against Donald, King of the Isles.

I have some drops of royal blood in my veins, through the house of Douglas. My grandmother was a legitimate daughter of Douglas, baron of Wittingham, a branch of the family of the Duke of Douglas; and since the period when that branch sprung from the house of Douglas, one of the ancestors of my great-grandfather Douglas of

and another lady, who was related to me. This worthy and virtuous lady, who was idolised by her country, possessed every good and amiable quality that could adorn her sex. She was beloved, respected, and adored by all those who had the advantage of knowing her, as well as by the public in general who only knew her through the high character and reputation she possessed. She had been very beautiful in her youth, and was still beautiful at the age of forty-five; appearing at least fifteen years younger than she really was, from the uniform, temperate, regular, frugal, and simple way of living she had always observed. She was virtuous, pious, devout, and charitable, without ostentation; her devoutness was neither affected nor oppressive to others. Her affability, easy and engaging manners, and goodness of heart, soon set at their ease those who paid court to her, whom her graceful and majestic air

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Wittingham, married Annabel Stuart, sister of James I., King of Scotland; and my grandmother was descended from this Annabel Stuart, by lawful marriage. My father gave me, at parting, the genealogy of this family, which was extracted from the registers of Scotland, and signed by the Chancellor, for my grand-uncle William, baron of Wittingham, lieutenant-general in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, and I have still preserved it.—*Author.*

As the reader of this work will not expect to find in it information respecting the early history of Scotland, or the genealogy of the house of Douglas, it is not necessary to point out all the errors contained in the above note, though it may be proper to notice some of them. There were no Earls of Douglas till 1357, before which period the Chiefs of Douglas were only Barons. The *Selvac* or *Selvathius*, or *Solvathius*, who is here made to carry on war against Donald of the Isles, in 770, began his reign in 719, and was succeeded by Murdac, in 733; and the incident related by our author is one of the inventions of Boyce or Boetius. Robert Bruce was never married to the daughter of John Baliol. He married, first, Isabella, daughter of Donald, Earl of Mar; and afterwards, Elizabeth, daughter of Aymer de Burgh, Earl of Ulster. His son David died without issue, and his daughter was married to Walter the Stewart, or Stuart, of Scotland, father of Robert II. Archibald the sixth de Douglas married Dornagilla, daughter of John Comyn of Badenoch, by Marjory, sister of John Baliol, King of Scotland.

might at first have rendered timid. Her mind was highly cultivated. She had a decided taste for literature; she had a great memory, much good sense and intelligence, a sound judgment, and a quick discernment. Her library was well stored with the best authors, without any of those trifling novels, which generally form so large a portion of the libraries of women. She possessed great elevation of soul, and was even haughty and proud on proper occasions, supporting her illustrious birth with dignity, without arrogance, and without vanity, but in a manner truly noble.

Her brother, the Duke of Douglas, was a lunatic from his infancy, frequently breaking out into the most dreadful fits of madness. He killed his own near relation Mr. Ker, without having ever had the least quarrel or altercation with him, by running him through the body with his sword when asleep; and as Lady Jane several times narrowly escaped being killed by him in a fit of insanity, their uncle, the Marquis of Lothian, wished to have him legally declared a lunatic, and Lady Jane put in possession of all the estates of the family, amounting to more than sixteen thousand pounds a-year. This would have met with no opposition, as his lunacy was notorious, from the fatal proofs which he gave of it every day; but Lady Jane Douglas would never consent to this; preferring to live retired upon an annuity of three or four hundred a-year, which she drew from her brother as interest of her portion — a very small income for a person of her rank — to dishonouring him and her family by having recourse to such a step. If ever virtue seemed to be unceasingly persecuted by Providence, it was in the person of Lady Jane Douglas, the most amiable of her sex, eminent for every noble quality, and the most perfect model for imitation. The chagrin she suffered from the persecution of her brother, with the death

of her eldest son, whom she tenderly loved, shortened her days, and she died at London a little before the death of her brother, and at the very moment when she was on the point of inheriting an income of sixteen thousand pounds a-year. In what I have here said to her praise, I have not been guilty of exaggeration. All those who had the good fortune to know her, and who now lament her death, will say a thousand times more in her praise, without being able to do justice to the merit of this adorable lady, who was as illustrious as she was unfortunate. How mysterious the ways of Providence! We may often exclaim, with Brutus, "O virtue! I have always worshipped thee as a divinity; but I find thou art an empty name." Virtue does not secure man from the sufferings of nature, or the injuries of fortune.*

Lady Jane called on me, as she had announced, and made me repeat all my adventures since the battle of Culloden. When I came to that part of my story which related to my stay at Samuel's, my dream, which I had almost forgotten, from the variety of events that had happened to me since I left Glen-Prossen, recurred to my remembrance; and, struck with the realisation of this dream in every point, and in all its circumstances, I stopt short for a moment in my narrative, and remained silent and confounded. I hesitated at first whether I should re-

* The Duke of Douglas, enraged at Lady Jane's marriage, in 1746, to Mr. Stewart, a private gentleman, refused to pay her the interest of her fortune, and reduced her to the greatest difficulties. She returned to London in 1752, and having been presented to King George, she did not humiliate herself by soliciting a pension, but told him "That her brother having stopped the payment of the interest of her fortune, His Majesty, who knew her family, had certainly too much penetration and good sense not to know what was due to a person of her rank." The King gave immediate orders for settling a considerable pension on her, although he knew that she had visited Prince Charles in his palace at Edinburgh.

late it or not; but it appeared so supernatural and incredible that I was afraid to communicate it to her, lest she should imagine that I wished to palm fictions on her, of which, however, I had no need, to secure the sympathy of a lady who had honoured me with her kindness from my infancy. Besides, supposing she could not give credit to me, which was very probable, it would have appeared, as I thought, in her eyes, to betray a littleness of mind in me, to attempt to deceive her by artifices. I therefore proceeded with my story, omitting all account of the dream, though nothing can be more certain, than that, in inspiring me with an obstinate determination to proceed to the South, instead of returning to the mountains to join my companions, this dream was the means of saving my life; and I shall therefore remember it as long as I live, as a matter beyond my comprehension, and on which it is impossible for me to reason, though it has such an influence on my destiny.

The activity of the mind, whilst the body is in a state of insensibility approaching to death, is in itself inconceivable; but, when the conversation we had in a dream, and the circumstances which then appeared to take place, are afterwards literally realised and verified in every particular, what are we to think of this? Can it be explained and accounted for from any natural cause? Certain it is, that my dream saved me from the scaffold, having followed its guidance, as if the route which I took in consequence had been pointed out to me by a guardian angel. To it I certainly must ascribe my obstinate determination to reach Edinburgh, or to perish in the attempt, contrary to the opinion and advice of every one. I never retrograded a single step, either in returning to Mr. Graham's when the boatmen refused to carry me over, or to Lillie's, when the assistance I expected from Salmon failed me,

or in remaining at Mr. Seton's when in one attempt I was disappointed. Instigated by an indescribable impulse, without my well knowing whether it was for my destruction or my safety, I found it impossible to act otherwise than I did. My mind is lost in a labyrinth, when I try to investigate this subject; and the more so, as I never thought of Lady Jane, on the day we held a council at Samuel's, when it was unanimously resolved to return to the Highlands, nor for a long time before. I thought of nothing on going to bed, but to sleep soundly, and to rise at three o'clock in the morning to set off with my comrades. It seemed to me, on waking, that my will was no longer free; and my reflections during the whole day, on the insurmountable obstacles which opposed my reaching Edinburgh, only served to strengthen my resolutions. Besides, supposing even I should reach Edinburgh, how could I ever hope to see Lady Jane Douglas there, or that she would pay me a visit at Mrs. Blythe's?

Having recounted to Lady Jane the affair of the two sergeants, on the preceding evening, which had so much alarmed poor Mrs. Blythe, she observed that I was not then in a proper place, and she offered me an asylum in her house, where I should be more safe, as no one would dare to search it upon mere suspicion. She told me to come that very night, about ten o'clock, and ordered me to collect my rags for the journey. Her house was about half a league from Leith, in the village of Drumsheugh: the disguise was absolutely necessary, lest I should meet any one who knew me on the way. I said all that I possibly could to be freed from wearing my old clothes, for which I had a particular repugnance; however, as I durst not venture to tell Lady Jane that they had given me the itch, I was obliged to put them on to comply with her request. I took every possible precaution to

prevent my catching that odious disease a second time, by putting on two shirts, a waistcoat, and gloves under my rags. Notwithstanding the horror which I entertained for this dress, and that I would have given a good deal to have had it burnt before Lady Jane called on me, it was the most precious dress I ever wore, having contributed so much to save my life.

I arrived at the door of Lady Jane's house, about eleven o'clock at night, which I found half open; and the gardener, who was the only one of her servants whom she dared to intrust with the secret, was waiting for me. He told me that Lady Jane had ordered him to conduct me into her ladyship's apartment as soon as I arrived, without changing my clothes, as she wished to see me in my disguise. This was another source of uneasiness; for I dreaded the pestilential odour which they would cause in the room; but I had no alternative. I found Mr. Stewart, and a lady who was related to me, with Lady Jane, waiting to see my metamorphosis. They all agreed that it was impossible to recognise me in this dress; only Lady Jane observed, that, to complete my disguise, I ought to have my eye-brows blackened with burnt cork. I made the experiment immediately, and found that the alteration which it produced in my appearance was considerable. I took my leave of them about midnight, and was conducted by the gardener to the chamber which was destined for me, above the room where company was received, and where no one had slept for a long time past. I immediately made a bundle of my clothes, which I requested the gardener to burn in the garden, that I might hear no more of them, and be under no apprehension of wearing them again.

As the gardener was the only individual in the secret, and as all the servants imagined, at the same time, that there was

no person in the room that I occupied, that I might not make any noise which might lead to my discovery by them, I was obliged to remain without shoes till eleven o'clock in the evening, when they went to bed, and then I went down stairs into the garden, to take a walk. I soon became accustomed to this sedentary and secluded life. I seldom saw any one but the gardener, who brought me my meals. Sometimes I had the pleasure of passing a few hours in the apartment of Lady Jane, where I usually found Mr. Stewart; but this was an indulgence I seldom enjoyed, on account of the difficulty of keeping all the servants out of the way, especially her chamber-maid, Mrs. Ker; whom Lady Jane did not wish to let into the secret, and who became very troublesome from her extreme curiosity to clear up the mystery, the existence of which she had frequent occasion to suspect, without knowing what to think of it.

I immediately acquired a taste for reading, having been, till then, too dissipated for any application to books; and her ladyship supplied me with the best historical authors. Thus I passed my whole time, with a book continually in my hand, without feeling weariness for a single moment; and I should have willingly consented to pass my whole life in the same manner, on condition of escaping the scaffold. The taste which I then contracted for reading has been subsequently of the greatest utility to me, and a great resource against *ennui*, in a part of America where I lived several years, and where society is not so agreeable as in Europe.

A few days after taking possession of my lodgings in the house of Lady Jane, I read in an Edinburgh newspaper, "That the populace of Dubbieside had arrested and conducted to prison a person of the name of David Cousselain, who, with a certain individual

who was not taken, had aided in the escape of a rebel; and that they had burnt the boat, which had been made use of in crossing the ferry." I was very glad that Seton, who had acted with such generosity, had had the good fortune to escape; and I was sorry that Mr. Robertson had lost his boat; but, as to Cousselain, as my hands were not yet cured, I could not pity his fate so much as if he had kept himself sober: had it not been for his drunkenness, he might have returned to Dubbieside in better time; for being then able to relieve each other we should have effected our passage in less time, and then there is every reason for supposing he might have escaped being taken, securing his return before the inhabitants were up. I rowed as well as a man could do who was rowing for his life, without knowing much of the business; but with Cousselain we should have effected the passage in half the time. I learned from Mr. Seton the elder, whom I met at Paris, in the year 1747, that Cousselain suffered only a few weeks' imprisonment, as there was no evidence against him. Indeed, nothing would have been more unjust than to have condemned him for saving a rebel, for the brute had nothing to do with it; having slept during the whole passage, while I was fatiguing myself to death with rowing, and injuring my hands in such a way as to prevent me from using them for a long time.

Lady Jane and my father were of opinion, that I should go immediately to London, as I ran no risk of being discovered in that immense city, which a multitude of strangers are entering and leaving every day. They thought, too, that there was little to fear on the road, after I was once ten leagues from Edinburgh. Every thing was ready for my departure, when we learned that the squadron of the Duke d'Anville had sailed from

France, and that it was so formidable that Admiral Anson durst not attack it. When this news first reached Scotland, no one doubted that this squadron was destined to re-establish the affairs of Prince Charles; and the feigned route which it took on its departure confirmed us still more in that belief. It is certain that this squadron might have effected a disembarkation in Scotland, without experiencing the least opposition, and even in view of the English fleets, which had not dared to attack it; and the troops, which were on board, would have been more than sufficient to re-establish our affairs. The Scots who were still concealed in the mountains would have issued out of them like so many bees from a hive, and many of the clans who had remained neuter, seeing that the Duke of Cumberland had ravaged and laid waste the whole country, without distinction of friend or foe, would have taken up arms: the army of the Prince would have been soon double in number to what it was in the times of our greatest prosperity. After waiting, with extreme impatience, for the landing of this squadron in Scotland, which occupied the attention of every one for several weeks, an English ship, at length, discovered it in a latitude which put it beyond all doubt that it was only destined for America.

It was the fate of this formidable fleet to perish on the coast of Accadia, or Nova Scotia, without even effecting the settlement which was the object of the expedition, at Chebuctoo, a paltry fort, in the worst possible soil, covered with rocks and stones, where the English have since built the town of Halifax. This immense armament, which might have easily effected a revolution in England, from the critical state of things at that time in Scotland, was reduced to nothing by tempests, by diseases, by discord and contention between the superior officers of the land

and sea services,—in short, by a total want of conduct ; so that a few of the shattered remains of it only returned to France. This may be considered as the last effort of the French navy.

The policy pursued by the court of France, in threatening the English with efforts in favour of the House of Stuart, as they have done for a century past, is very short-sighted. This policy, from the nature of things, could only be of limited operation : the trick has become so stale from repetition that the English are no longer alarmed, and never will be alarmed in future, as they see that France, with the best possible dispositions, is now incapable of effecting any thing in favour of the Stuarts, from the destruction and emigration of their partisans in Scotland, and the coolness of those in England. This was, indeed, clearly proved in the last war ; these pretended invasions having in no manner disconcerted the English, or prevented them from pursuing their enterprises, and having only served to open their eyes to the necessity of forming and disciplining a hundred thousand militia to guard their coasts from surprise. If France had had seriously at heart to re-establish the House of Stuart on the throne, she might have easily succeeded in effecting this, during our expedition, with three or four thousand troops ; and besides, having an ally in Prince Charles, she would have thereby avoided those eternal wars with England, which never took place during the reign of the House of Stuart. On the contrary, Charles II. became the ally of France, in a war against the Dutch, notwithstanding the friendly sentiments which the English nation always entertained towards that republic. The King of England has the power to form alliances, to declare war, or to make peace, as he pleases ; and he is always certain of a majority in Parliament.

After passing two months in the house of Lady Jane Douglas,

in the most tranquil and philosophic manner, a servant maid, who returned from Edinburgh with provisions, told her companions in the kitchen, that whilst she was purchasing meat in the flesh-market, the lacquey of an English gentleman, a commissioner of the customs, whispered in her ear, "That they knew very well that I was concealed in the house of Lady Jane Douglas, her mistress; and that there was every reason for supposing that her house would immediately be searched." She added, that she had openly contradicted this calumny; and, in fact, she could do so with a safe conscience, for no one in the house, except the gardener, knew any thing of the matter; and he went up stairs immediately to inform Lady Jane, who came without delay into my room, accompanied by Mr. Stewart, to consult as to what was necessary to be done; fearing lest a detachment of soldiers should come, in the course of the day, to visit the house. It was then only nine o'clock in the morning.

This intelligence filled me with the utmost grief and uneasiness. I trembled lest the extreme goodness of Lady Jane, in giving me an asylum in her house, should involve her in difficulties with the government; and I was a thousand times more afraid of the disagreeable consequences which the being taken in her house would entail on her, than of the fate which awaited myself. When I feelingly expressed how much I regretted the dangers to which I exposed her, she replied, with her usual spirit and promptitude, — "If there were no risk, you would be under no obligation to me." — It was impossible to get out by the door into the court, on account of the servants, who, in that case, would see me from the kitchen; and there was no place in the house, which I examined all over, where I could remain concealed. But, as they were then making hay in an inclosure belonging to

Lady Jane, Mr. Stewart proposed that I should conceal myself in a cock of hay. In order to succeed in this, it was necessary to let a footman into the secret, that he might watch the other servants, and seize a favourable opportunity for my leaving the house and entering the inclosure.

I went out, in my waistcoat, with the footman and gardener, followed by Mr. Stewart. As it was necessary to observe a number of precautions, on account of some of the windows of the village which looked into the inclosure, we began to throw down all the cocks of hay, one after another; and the footman and gardener threw each other down on the hay, with which the one who happened to be undermost was covered by the other. This pretended amusement went on for some time, when they threw me, in my turn, as a part of the same sport, and covered me with hay, till the cock in which I was concealed was raised as high as the rest, leaving me only a small aperture for breathing; and having given me a bottle of water and another of wine they withdrew.

I do not think it possible to suffer more than I did the whole day: the weather was fine, but very warm; the excessive heat of my situation under the hay, which was like an oven, almost deprived me of respiration. Mr. Stewart came to see me from time to time, and exhorted me to be patient; and, indeed, I had need of patience, for my sufferings were occasionally so insupportable, that I was sometimes tempted to give the hay to the devil, and expose myself to whatever might happen, rather than to continue where I was. My regard for Lady Jane alone restrained me. After the most dreadful sufferings, from ten o'clock in the morning till nine at night, remaining always in the same attitude, without power to stir myself, and bathed in sweat,

I was at length relieved. But when I came out of the hay my body was so bruised, and I was so weak, from my excessive transpiration, that it was with difficulty I could walk, leaning on the arm of Mr. Stewart, for my legs could scarcely support me. I was enraged to think I had passed so disagreeable a day for nothing, no person having come to search the house. I was always of opinion that they would not dare to do so on doubtful information, and they could obtain no certain information except through the gardener, of whose fidelity Lady Jane had been assured for a considerable length of time, during which he was in her service.

The certainty that the squadron of the Duke d'Anville was not destined for Scotland, the disappointment I felt in the extinction of all my hopes of the re-establishment of our affairs, and my sufferings the whole of this day under the hay, determined me to set out for London as soon as possible; and Mr. Colvill, Lady Jane's man of business, purchased for me, next day, in the horse-market, a very handsome poney, at a reasonable price. I urgently entreated Lady Jane to exempt me from performing a second penance, during the day I should still have the honour to pass with her; adding that I would remain sentinel at my chamber window from morning till night, with my eyes constantly fixed on the door into the court; and that as soon as I saw a detachment enter, if they were so impudent as to send one; I would jump from the window of the first floor into the garden, when, by climbing the garden wall, I could soon gain the open fields, and place myself beyond the reach of their pursuit. This dear and amiable lady pitied my sufferings under the hay-cock, but could not help, at the same time, bursting into

a loud fit of laughter on seeing the panic-terror with which the idea of returning to it filled me, and she granted me a dispensation. I had had, it is true, a rough trial of this dreadful penance.

Next day my father came to bid me an eternal adieu, and passed the afternoon with me. I felt the utmost affliction and grief at the approach of this perpetual separation. I warmly urged my father, as well as Lady Jane, to permit me to go to Edinburgh, for a few moments, to embrace, for the last time, the most tender and affectionate of mothers, in the bed where she was then dangerously sick; but they would not give their consent, on account of the danger I should run of being discovered, either in passing through the town or by the servants of the house. What a cruel situation! To be within a mile of a tender mother, who had always fondly loved me, then dangerously ill, and yet be unable to bid her an eternal adieu!

About eleven o'clock at night, I began to disguise myself in the dress of one of the persons who travel up and down the country with goods. A stock of handkerchiefs was procured for me, which I put into my portmanteau with my linen, where I had also the breast of an embroidered waistcoat, which was very beautiful, and very precious to me, as it was the work of a mistress. Having folded up my hair, I put on a black wig, which hung down over my shoulders, and Lady Jane blackened my eye-brows; but with this disguise I was by no means so completely metamorphosed as in my beggar's dress. This amiable lady, who could not be at ease on my account till she knew I had proceeded, without accident, some leagues from Edinburgh, where I should be less exposed to meet any

persons of my acquaintance than in the neighbourhood of that city, sent her servant, on her saddle-horse, to accompany me the first two leagues, that she might know how I succeeded.

I proceeded six leagues without stopping, when, having come to a village in which there was a public-house, I alighted to rest a little, and take some refreshment. The landlady eagerly pressed me to join a gentleman in the next room, who had just arrived, that we might dine together. I consented, suspecting that she had it not in her power to serve us up separate dinners. I was confounded, on entering the room, to find Mr. Scott, banker in Edinburgh, a young gentleman who knew me very well by sight. This rencounter was the more calculated to alarm me, from his being a violent partisan of the House of Hanover. Having, however, committed this blunder, it was now too late to think of retreating; and, trusting to my disguise, I supported the character of pedlar as well as I could, till, in a moment of absence, he pronounced my name. As it was impossible any longer to doubt that I was known to him, I endeavoured to deceive him with respect to the road which I intended to take. As at this village several roads joined the highway to Edinburgh, I told him that I intended sleeping at Jedburgh, the road to which turns off from the London road on the right at this village. After he had pronounced my name, I could perceive that he was at great pains to induce me, notwithstanding that circumstance, to believe that he did not know me; for which I could not discover his motive. I was not afraid of being arrested in the village, having a pistol primed and loaded in each breeches pocket: but I was very much afraid, that on his reaching Edinburgh in the evening he would lodge an information against me, and that, in consequence, the magistrates of the different towns

on the London road would be written to, in order to have me arrested. I therefore set out immediately after dinner, taking at first the Jedburgh road; but as soon as I had proceeded about a league in it, I came to a cross-road to the left, into which I struck, and soon regained the London road. In the evening I arrived at Kelso, which is about eleven leagues from Edinburgh, where, availing myself of a letter of recommendation from Mr. Stewart, I slept at a private house, to avoid any troublesome rencounters at the inn. I never passed a more painful day;—plunged in the deepest melancholy, and oppressed with and absorbed in the most distressing reflections, I saw myself reduced to the dreadful alternative of either perishing on the scaffold, or, by escaping to a foreign country, of abandoning for ever my native land, my relations and friends, and all that was dear to me:—in short, it was an eternal farewell. Next day I entered England.

Amongst the immense number of prisoners that we took in the different battles we gained against the English, there were many who entered our army without any sincerity of intention; the most of them had no other view in so doing than to have the means of escaping with the greater ease to join their old colours in the English army. Of thirty or forty of them, whom I had had in my company, only five or six remained with me at the battle of Culloden. The unfortunate Dickson, my serjeant, was of that number, and was hanged at Edinburgh, whilst I remained in the house of Lady Jane Douglas, dying with the utmost courage and firmness. He refused his pardon, which was offered to him on the simple condition of confessing himself guilty, by Mr. Chapman, his former captain in the forty-second regiment. On the fourth day after my departure from Edinburgh, when within two miles of Stamford, where I intended

passing the night, having travelled about thirteen leagues in the course of the day, and little more than an hour of sun remaining, I came up suddenly with some covered waggons, when I heard a voice in one of the waggons call out, "See, see! if there is not a man on horseback who resembles our rebel captain as much as one drop of water resembles another!" and I heard my name pronounced at the same time.

I had been informed, whilst in the house of Lady Jane Douglas, that several waggons, filled with soldiers wounded at the battle of Culloden, had set off, about eight days before I left Edinburgh, for Chelsea Hospital, near London; but I supposed them too far before me for any danger of my coming up with them by the way, and not expecting to meet with any person in England who knew me, I had taken off my large black wig, on account of the excessive heat; and had only my hat uncocked, which covered my face as if to defend me from the sun. I affected not to hear them; and having passed the waggons, I kept on at the same rate till I got clear of the town of Stamford, when I put spurs to my horse, and rode eight miles at full gallop, to get so far before the soldiers that they might not see me again. I durst not sleep at Stamford, as I was afraid their report might induce the magistrates to arrest me.

However, this adventure proved nearly fatal to my horse, the loss of which would have reduced me to so grievous a situation that I trembled at the very idea of it. On reaching my inn, as soon as he entered the stable, he threw himself down, refusing to eat or drink, seeming to be completely cut up. I tortured my imagination in order to devise how I could continue my journey in case he should be incapable of proceeding farther; and I dreaded also the arrival of the waggons, next morning, at that very inn,

which was the only one in the village. Restless and chagrined beyond all description, I did nothing but pass and repass between the inn and the stable, during the space of two hours. At length, after inexpressible suffering, I was agreeably surprised to see my horse on his legs, eating with a good appetite, and looking admirably. The landlord told me, that I had nothing to fear on his account, and even offered to buy him, at thrice the price which he had cost me. Nothing could exceed the joy which I felt in having my mind thus set at ease with respect to my horse, the recovery of which extricated me from the most cruel perplexity. He added, that in a few hours he would feel nothing more of his fatigue, and that I might set off with him in the morning at any hour I pleased, without the least danger of his failing me on the way. I fixed my departure at half past two in the morning, under the pretext of avoiding the heat, but, in reality, to get the start of those waggons, which weighed so much on my mind.

Next morning, at sun-rise, a man very well dressed, in the manner of the people *, about forty years of age, and mounted on a very beautiful bay courser, came across the fields, leaping all the hedges and ditches with an astonishing facility; and as soon as he entered the highway, he came alongside of me, and immediately endeavoured to enter into conversation, notwithstanding the little inclination which I discovered to continue it, as he might easily see from my always answering him in monosyllables. Having

* *En Bourgeois.* It can hardly be necessary to inform the reader, that the uniformity of dress which now prevails, extending from the peer almost to the ploughboy, is of recent origin. Long after 1746, *gentlemen* were distinguished by their dress from the industrious part of the community, the *Bourgeois* of the French, a word for which we have not an exact synonyme.

examined his physiognomy, when he rode up to my left side, I observed that he had a wild and troubled air, and that he turned his head every instant to look about him in every direction; in short, that he had all the appearance of one of the highwaymen with whom the great roads in England are infested. I instantly had my right hand in my breeches pocket; and whilst I held my pistol in readiness, I kept my eyes always fixed on him; determined, if he made the least movement with his hands, that my pistol should be presented as soon as his. I likewise regulated the pace of my horse by his, never allowing him to get behind me, which I perceived he was sometimes desirous to do, from his slackening his pace every moment. I did not wish to surrender my purse without a battle, as, in my situation, the loss of my money would have ruined me irremediably; for I knew not how I could have extricated myself from such an embarrassment. Having proceeded in this manner for more than half an hour, always on the alert, and making a number of unconnected observations, he suddenly wished me good morning, and darted, in the same manner as he came, across the fields, leaping the hedges and ditches, and without appearing to have any other object in view than that of getting to as great a distance as possible from the highway. The determined air which I exhibited, probably deterred him from demanding my purse; and I was very glad to get rid of him, for the adventure, turn out how it might, would have been fatal to me. If I had blown out his brains in my own defence, I could not have presented myself before a magistrate to make my deposition; and, if he had taken my purse, I know not how I could have continued my journey without money.

Whilst I was dining in an inn at Jockey Houses, a man en-

tered, whom I took, from his conversation with the landlord, to be an excise-officer. This man rudely seated himself at the same table with me, without the least apology, and without asking my leave. He remained a quarter of an hour without opening his mouth, during which time he made a very considerable breach in a piece of roasted veal. Unable, at length, to devour more, he laid down his knife and fork, with much gravity, and said to me, with an air of contentment and satisfaction, "Sir, I saw you pass this morning: probably you slept at Stamford? I at once perceived from your horse, — for we have none of that breed in England, — that you are come from Scotland. Tell me if it be true, that the rebels are entirely dispersed? It must be owned that your nation is very eager for its own destruction. Have we ever been governed with so much mildness and moderation as at present, under his majesty King George? Your nation will never be quiet till it be totally destroyed. Can nothing extirpate, in your country, that hereditary spirit of rebellion?" I was very uneasy for fear this rude fellow had been sent by the magistrates of Stamford, to endeavour to verify the declaration of the soldiers, and with instructions to keep sight of me, till he should find an opportunity for arresting me, in the first great town on the road where I might pass the night. I answered, "That I had no news respecting the rebels, having come from a part of the country called Annandale, which is on the frontiers of England, and where they generally know little or nothing of what is passing in the north of Scotland. Besides, being a dealer in linen-drapery, I concerned myself only with my trade, and cared very little about state affairs."

He immediately asked to see my goods. I told him that I had sent my linen to London, by sea, with other goods of Scots ma-

nufacture, and that I had only handkerchiefs with me. I immediately opened my portmanteau to show them, and sold him a piece without knowing the price, for they had forgotten to mark the price of each. I had not, it is true, anticipated any such embarrassment on the road to London as would oblige me to sell them. On paying for the handkerchiefs, he praised my probity, telling me that I was a conscientious young man, and that all the other Scots pedlars, who passed that road every day, were a set of arrant knaves, having lately obliged him to pay, for the same goods, nearly the double of what I had demanded. In examining my portmanteau he saw my embroidered waistcoat, and had a strong desire to purchase it; but, as soon as I told him that I could not sell it for less than fifteen guineas, he gave up all idea of buying it; and I was very glad that he did not torment me for the vest, for I should not have let him have it on any account. If this man was really sent after me, as I suspected, he must, at least, have reported that I was a pedlar; and the handkerchiefs which I had sold him apparently for much less than prime cost, gave him a high opinion of my honesty. He made me take down the addresses of his friends in London, in order that they might obtain similar goods from me at the same price.

I arrived in London at six o'clock in the evening of the seventh day after my departure from Lady Jane Douglas's, having travelled nearly one hundred and forty leagues in that time, without over-fatiguing my horse. I alighted at an inn in Greek-street, the people of which Mr. Stewart had recommended to me as honest and well-behaved; and I went out, as soon as I had changed my linen, to deliver a letter of recommendation to a person, from whom all the favour I had to demand was to pro-

cure me furnished lodgings, to which I might immediately proceed, in order to avoid the inconvenience of sleeping in an inn. Having found him at home, to my great surprise he declined to procure lodgings for me, telling me, at the same time, that the master of the inn, being a Scotsman much suspected by the government, it was generally supposed, that the court employed some of his waiters as spies, to give them intelligence of all the Scotsmen who arrived in London. I returned to the inn, highly incensed at the rudeness of this person, who would not give himself the trouble to find me a lodging; and I was very uneasy, after what I had heard, at being obliged to pass the night there.

I did not close an eye the whole night, from the fear of being arrested on the information of the spies of the inn, and having risen at an early hour, I sallied out in quest of furnished lodgings, without being able to find any, in a neighbourhood which suited me in respect to price. Impatient and anxious to quit the inn, I at length bethought me of a female who kept a shop, who had had a great kindness for me, when I was in London in 1740. All I had to do was to ascertain if she had adopted any one in my place, whom she loved better than me; or if, after an absence of five years, I could revive the affection with which I had formerly inspired her. However, as she possessed good sense, elevated sentiments, and great gentleness of disposition, I was well assured that I ran no risk in confiding my life to her fidelity; and I therefore immediately took a coach and drove to her house. Having dismissed the coach some paces from the door, I entered her shop, under pretext of buying something, supposing that she would not recognise me; but she no sooner saw me than she called me by

my name, in a transport of joy at again meeting with me. As her servant-maid was present, I told her that she had forgot my name, which was Leslie. We then entered into the parlour, where I related to her my misfortunes, which drew tears from her eyes; and I soon perceived that this good and amiable woman still loved me. I told her that the convincing proofs I had received from her of her friendship and affection made me believe that my life was safe in her hands. "Oh! yes," replied she, with great vivacity. She then embraced me, and entreated me to be assured that she loved me as much as ever, and that she had often thought of me.

She immediately offered me an apartment in her house, telling me that I should be the more safe with her as she had never chosen to let her apartments; and she pressed me very much to take possession of the lodging in question without a moment's delay, as I was exposed to troublesome accidents at the inn. I accepted her obliging offer, returned to the inn for my portmanteau, and came back to dine with her; when she put me in possession of an elegant front room on the first floor. Having found a stable in the neighbourhood, I brought my horse to it myself, that very evening, that the people of the inn, if they were spies of the Court, might not know the part of the town where I had gone to lodge. I ceased, therefore, to be any longer uneasy on that score. My horse was so handsome that I sold him, almost immediately, on such advantageous terms that I received over and above the price I paid for him, much more than the expense of my journey, and my loss on the handkerchiefs.

Having formerly remained a year in London, in consequence of a dispute with my father, I received an order from him, in the

Spring of 1740, to return to Scotland; and he allowed me only three weeks to join him, under pain of his never pardoning my disobedience. I was in this critical situation with regard to my father, when, in a visit which I paid to one of my friends, to announce to him my departure, I met, in his house, the most beautiful person that ever existed, eighteen years of age, newly come from the country. She was herself ignorant of the perfection of her celestial figure, and the power of her charms. She was the niece of my friend, and an only daughter. Her father was of an ancient English family, the younger branch of which is very illustrious, and bears the title of Duke. I stopped to dine at her uncle's, where she staid; and her engaging manners, her sweet air, her conversation seasoned with good sense, wit, and modesty, and without the least tincture of affectation, conspired with her beauty to captivate me, and make me feel with violence the torments of a growing passion. This adorable beauty reduced me, in a moment, to a situation which language cannot express. I could not tear my eyes from this charming object; and the more I admired her, the more the subtile poison entered into my soul. I was as in a fever; my respiration failed me; the rapid movement of my blood suffocated me, and my tongue could scarce pronounce a single monosyllable. I endeavoured, however, to conceal as long as I could the trouble and disorder with which my soul was devoured. I had never felt any thing like this before. I had often, indeed, been in love; but it was that easy kind of love which we lose without knowing how or why, when a short absence or the presence of another beauty dissolves the charm, and soon makes us forget the fair one for whom we sigh. But this charming person had placed me in a dreadful situation. My wounds were deep. I was bewildered, and no longer knew my-

self. I did not speak to her of my departure, although it was the subject of my visit, and her uncle invited me to pass the day after the next with them.

I returned home absent, thoughtful, melancholy, and dejected; with her image as distinctly imprinted on my imagination as if she were still standing before me. Sleep brought no relief to my pain; I passed the night without closing my eyes, in an incessant combat between love and duty to my father. Having returned five or six times to her uncle's, I always left her, more smitten and more tormented than before, and every visit rendered me less master of myself. My father had consented to pardon my indiscretions, on condition of my making my appearance in Edinburgh in the course of three weeks: and, if I slighted his orders, I foresaw a second rupture with him, worse than the first. What a painful situation! My agitation was beyond description. Nothing could exceed my embarrassment. I had passed a terrible youth. I was impetuous, obstinate, fiery, passionate, and headstrong, and possessed a number of other defects. Never, however, had I done any thing contrary to honour or probity, or which could wound the most delicate sentiments of a gallant man; and I was always incapable of any thing low. Too much indulged by an affectionate mother, she supplied me secretly with money to support my extravagance and follies; for I had only to ask her for money to have it. In 1738, when I was about eighteen years of age, I was seized with a desire to see two uncles in Russia; Mr. Douglas, lieutenant-general and governor of Revel, and Mr. Hewitt, my mother's brother, formerly a favourite of Peter the Great, and president of the College of Commerce, but who had retired, on the death of that emperor, with a considerable pension. My father would not agree to this

journey; but having appealed to Lady Jane Douglas, who was my ordinary resource in my altercations with my father, and my great oracle, being the only person who could convince me when I was in the wrong, and instantly induce me to abandon any intention, she persuaded my father that, as I was extremely volatile, careless of my studies, and plunged in libertinism, the only means of reforming me was to accede to my wishes, as this would remove me, for some time, from the society of my youthful companions; that young men seduce and lead each other into dissipation and debauchery; and that it was extremely fortunate this idea had entered into my own head. Thus this dear lady succeeded in obtaining my father's consent.

My uncle Hewitt was a man of distinguished merit. He had a great deal of good sense, much talent, knowledge, and experience. He had been brought up at the court of Russia, having entered that service when very young; and, in his youth, had been as great a libertine as myself. He was consequently an excellent pilot for directing me how to avoid the rocks, on which he himself had struck. He was very fond of me, and reproved me mildly, respectfully, and patiently, instead of having recourse to the harsh, cutting, and severe language of my father, who having always been prudent and philosophic from his infancy, did not know how to feel for, and yield a little to the torrent of boiling blood, in an ardent temperament every way different from his own. In the course of a year he taught me to think for myself, and extinguished a part of the excessive ardour and vivacity which deprived me of all command over myself.

I had always a decided inclination for the profession of arms; but my father, unwilling that his only son should be carried off by a cannon-ball, opposed me in that, as he always did in almost

every thing that I desired. My uncle Hewitt had been colonel of a regiment in Russia, but, at the battle of Narva, he was so dangerously wounded, by a ball through the neck, that he was obliged to quit the military service, and was placed at the head of the College of Commerce. He subscribed very willingly to my desire of entering into the service of Russia; and one day, when Prince Courakin and Count Gollovin, both secretaries of state, and his particular friends, were dining with him, he presented me to them as having come from Scotland, for the express purpose of entering into the service of Russia, and begged them to take me under their protection. They seconded my wishes so well, that in the course of a few days a lieutenant's commission was obtained for me, with all possible assurances, that, at the end of the campaign, that of 1739, against the Turks, I should have a company. I communicated to my father the opportunity which I now had of making a figure in the world, and that besides their powerful protection, I had also that of Field-marshal Keith, likewise a friend of my uncle Hewitt, who would not fail to serve me; and that I was certain of being strongly supported by my uncle Douglas. Mr. Hewitt wrote to my father a very pressing letter at the same time, in order to obtain his consent; but, instead of giving me his consent, my father answered me in a letter conceived in the harshest terms, telling me, that I knew it never had been his intention that I should settle out of my native country; that I had all my life been disobedient to his wishes; and that, if I persisted in opposing him, as I had hitherto done, I might be assured that he would disinherit me, and leave all his property to my sisters.

The prospect of being one day rich is a great misfortune to a young man; as this wealth, which is not seldom imaginary, makes

him frequently neglect opportunities for making his fortune; and it is cruel and unpardonable in a father to conceal the state of his affairs from his children. By obeying my father I lost the only opportunity which ever presented itself, in my whole life, of making a brilliant fortune. There are moments when fortune opens to men the door by which they may arrive at happiness; and happy are they who can discern and instantly seize these moments! General Keith urged me much to avail myself of the kind dispositions of these two ministers; and he assured me, that he would extend me the friendship which he had vowed to my uncle Hewitt. He was then confined to his bed, in consequence of the wounds he had received at the siege of Oczacow, in 1738, where he commanded; and Lord Marischal, his brother, having come to Petersburg to take care of him, I also made the acquaintance of this agreeable nobleman, which I afterwards renewed at Paris, in 1751, when he resided in that city as ambassador from the King of Prussia.

Having been prevented by my father from entering into the service of Russia, my stay there became insupportable to me; especially after Mr. Smollet, a young man who came to Petersburg, in 1739, with the design of entering into the service, but who did not find it to his taste, had spoken to me so much of the pleasures and amusements of London, that he inspired me with a strong desire of visiting it. As Smollet had determined to return, I resolved to embark with him on board the first vessel that should leave St. Petersburg, without waiting for the consent of my father; as his answer could not reach me before the interruption of the navigation of the Baltic, by which I should be obliged to remain another year in Russia. My uncle, after combating very much my project of going to London, at *length*

ceased to importune me; but as he foresaw, better than myself, that my father would be greatly irritated against me on account of this step, he offered to advance me whatever sum I wished to have, on his account; assuring me that my father might delay, much longer than I supposed, the sending me money. I only took ten or twelve guineas, in the persuasion that my father would immediately honour the bills I should draw on him.

Having taken my passage for London, on board the same ship in which Mr. Smollet embarked, and agreed with the captain about the price, Mr. Walker, the master of another merchant ship, which was ready to sail for London at the same time, came to the coffee-house, and asked to speak with me in private. He said, that having heard of my wish to go to London, he came to request my acceptance of a passage in his vessel, which would set sail at the same time with that on board of which was my friend Mr. Smollet; that, far from demanding any thing for my passage, he would consider himself as under a great obligation to me for my company; that there would be no want of any kind of refreshments on board, as I had only to give him a list of all the articles I wished, and he would instantly purchase them; that, with regard to wine, few were better provided than he, having not only Spanish and Portuguese wines, and claret, but also several kinds of Greek wines, as his last voyage had been through all the Grecian islands, with some noblemen, who had freighted his vessel with a cargo of legs and arms of statues, and numberless pieces of marble with inscriptions. Of these he knew nothing; but he had taken care, wherever he found good wine, to lay in a stock of it. He added, that he was in easy circumstances, without wife or children, having realised seven or eight thousand guineas, which he had at London; that he was the sole

owner of the ship, and that he was resolved to sell her, upon his arrival in London, and pass the rest of his days in a philosophic retirement.

I had seen Mr. Walker, who was between fifty and sixty years of age, several times before; and I had always distinguished him very much from the other seafaring men in St. Petersburg on account of his gentlemanly behaviour, his mildness of character, his agreeable society, great knowledge of the world, intelligence and good sense. He invited me to dine on board with him next day, and to ask Mr. Smollet to be of the party; telling me, that his captain, with whom I had made my arrangements for my passage, would likewise be there, and that, being his intimate friend, he would take it upon himself to release me from my engagement to take my passage in his vessel. He gave us a magnificent dinner; and finding his society exceedingly agreeable, I willingly accepted his proposition.

We left Petersburg in company with the other ship, in which Mr. Smollet embarked; and, as we had many calms, we used to anchor together, and give dinners to him and his captain; being better provided than they were with a thousand little things which are a great luxury at sea. A gale of wind, on the coast of Denmark, at last separated us, and we did not see one another again till we arrived in London, which we reached after a passage of six weeks. Nothing could be more agreeable than this passage. Mr. Walker paid me the greatest attention, and treated me, in every respect, as if I had been his own son, giving me good advice in the mildest and most respectful manner. He was one of those men of great elevation of soul, and goodness of heart, whom we meet with more frequently among the English than among any other people. Having more experience

and foresight than I then possessed, he constantly maintained that my reconciliation with my father would neither be so easy nor so prompt as I imagined, in consequence of the character for excessive harshness and austerity which he had frequently heard me give him; and, on our landing, he invited me to remain with him, till I should receive an answer from my father; an invitation which I fortunately accepted: for, having drawn a bill on my father, and wrote letter after letter, he persisted in refusing to answer me. Poor Mr. Walker, who had a sincere friendship for me, constantly showed me the affection and tenderness of a father; and I entertained the highest sense of the obligations I owed him for the favours conferred on me in so noble and generous a manner, and with so much delicacy, that I had no occasion to blush while I received them.

Mr. Walker had advertised his ship for sale on our arrival in London; but finding no purchaser, and having had the offer of a freight for Bourdeaux, he resolved to undertake another voyage before retiring. He pressed me much to make this voyage with him, to keep him company; assuring me that I should be in no want of money, as his purse, and every thing that could make the voyage agreeable, would be freely at my service; that, besides, I should have the pleasure of seeing France, which would prove an amusement for me in the mean time, till my father thought fit to grant me his pardon. I accepted with pleasure the obliging offer of this worthy man, as, from the obstinacy of my father in not answering my letters, I saw no other course open for me; and every thing was prepared for our departure in the course of two or three days.

My friend Smollet, who, on his return to London, had obtained a lieutenant's commission in Wentworth's regiment,

lodged in the court end of the town; and as I lived always with Mr. Walker, whose house was in Wapping, where the sailors reside, we were at the two extremities of London, and seldom saw one another. But, as I was on the point of setting off for Bourdeaux, I went to pass a day with him, and take leave. Returning home about eight o'clock in the evening, after the lamps were lighted, in going through Change Alley, a passage like that of the *Palais-royal*, ending in *la rue de Richelieu*, absorbed in reflection, and entirely engrossed with those thoughts, which my distressing situation then suggested, I was suddenly roused out of my reverie by a voice which called me by my name. On turning about, I saw Mr. Whitlock, a young English gentleman, whom I had known at St. Petersburg, where he passed the winter, with the intention of entering into the Russian sea-service; but having got into embarrassment, and his elder brother having refused to honour his bills, he was then in as awkward a situation as that in which I now happened to be. He engaged me to go and sup with him. When we arrived at his lodgings, I told him all that had happened to me since we parted; and that my disagreeable situation, occasioned by the obstinate silence of my father, reduced me to the necessity of accepting the obliging offer of Mr. Walker, whom Mr. Whitlock had known at St. Petersburg.

Mr. Whitlock convinced me that my father would be a thousand times more exasperated against me when, having consented to forgive me, he should learn that I was no longer in London, but roaming about on the seas; and he very obligingly invited me to lodge and board in the same house with him, where I should want for nothing, till I heard from my father. He added, that he was then in easy circumstances, having withdrawn his patrimony from the hands of his brother. He proposed my sleep-

ing at his lodgings, to which I consented, on condition of our going together next morning to see Mr. Walker, who approved of our reasons for my staying in London. We staid to dine with him, and I took leave of this worthy man with tears in my eyes, and with a heart penetrated with gratitude for the paternal affection which he had shown me.

What a shock I received, on reading in the newspapers the tragical fate of this worthy gentleman! His ship went to the bottom of the sea, in consequence of her springing a leak, three weeks after his departure from London, and the unfortunate Walker perished, with his whole crew, not one of whom was saved. I have often lamented the fate of this worthy and amiable man, and shall lament it as long as I live. I shed an abundance of tears; while, at the same time, the singular effect of an invisible Power which had prevented me, by my meeting with Mr. Whitlock in Change-alley, from ending my days at the same time with him, filled my mind with admiration and gratitude. Whatever name we may give to this mysterious agency; whether Fate, Chance, or Providence, its effects are visible, as I have frequently experienced in my own person, though the veil which covers it from our eyes be impenetrable to feeble mortals.

It was necessary to change his resolution of going no more to sea, and, to accomplish his unfortunate destiny, that no one should appear, during the space of six weeks, to purchase his ship; and that he should likewise receive the offer of an advantageous freight for Bourdeaux, by which he might clear three or four hundred guineas. To prevent my going to the bottom of the deep, it was necessary that Whitlock and I should meet in Change-alley, through which I seldom or never passed; and that

he should recognise me by the light of the lamps, for I could not have known my father if he had passed close beside me, being then completely absent, and absorbed in the most painful reflections respecting my situation; it was necessary that I should have gone to take leave of Smollet, to enable me to fall in with Whitlock; and, in short, it was necessary that Whitlock should have sufficient friendship for me, who had never been much in his company at St. Petersburg, to offer me his purse, and take me to board with him.* This chain of surprising effects could never proceed from mere chance, blind and irregular in all its movements. Here there is a field for reflection, for a whole lifetime. The more we endeavour to account for these wonderful dispensations of Providence, the more we shall be lost in darkness. All is obscurity, uncertainty, and full of doubt. The worthy but unfortunate Mr. Walker was a man of the greatest probity, — generous and compassionate towards his fellow-creatures in adversity, of a mild and cheerful character, and possessing all those amiable qualities which could render a man agreeable to society.

My father left me to languish four or five months in London, before he answered my letters. He possessed considerable talents and information, but was very impatient and severe. Indeed he was altogether unfitted for the management of youth, for he was

* My whole life has been one scene of miraculous escapes; always in difficulties, overwhelmed with wretchedness, and unrelentingly persecuted by fortune. My life has been passed in the service, and my body is worn out by the excessive fatigues I underwent in order to benefit the service. A pension was granted to me merely sufficient to supply me with the necessaries of life; but the Duke d'Aiguillon, and the Abbé Terray, have recently retrenched one-third from this pittance. After having been so often miraculously saved from destruction, shall I escape perishing of hunger in my old age! — *Author.*

a stranger to the mildness and mode of reasoning by which alone some young men can be influenced. We are all born with different characters, and this difference depends on bodily organization. The most passionate and impetuous young men may be gained over by mildness, but never by a stoical severity, which only serves to irritate a son of such a character against a father, whom he considers rather as his tyrant than his friend, and to whom he therefore refuses to listen. After exposing me to a thousand dangers of every kind, into which a young man in despair may be precipitated, he at length remitted me a bill to pay my debts, ordering me, at the same time, to return to Edinburgh in the course of three weeks, if I wished to avail myself of his present disposition towards a reconciliation.

It was precisely at this critical moment that chance made me acquainted with the angelic person to whom I have alluded. I remained in London adoring this divine beauty, till I had no more money than was barely sufficient to defray the expenses of my journey to Scotland; and, struggling continually between love and duty, I suddenly formed the resolution of setting off next morning, without taking leave, from a distrust of my self-command, and an internal conviction that a single glance of the charming Miss Peggy would instantly overturn all my resolutions, however wise and prudent they might be; that, in seeing her, I would no longer be master of myself, and be entangled in fresh embarrassments. I arrived at my father's; a reconciliation immediately took place; and the past was forgotten.

During the six years that I remained in Scotland, at a distance from my adorable Peggy, the uncertainty of her sentiments with regard to me, the little hopes I had of seeing her again, time, which effaces every thing, and new objects, though of an inferior

beauty, all conspired to make me insensibly forget her: but the instant I returned to London, her image immediately presented itself to my mind; my passion kindled at once to such a flame, that the certainty of the consequence of a visit being death on the scaffold, would not have prevented me from attempting to see her. I only delayed my visit till the clothes, which I had ordered, were ready; and my taylor favoured my impatience by bringing them, with my beautiful embroidered waistcoat, in the course of twenty-four hours.

As soon as I was dressed, I took a hackney-coach, which I discharged when I was near her uncle's; and having inquired of the servant, who opened the door, if his master were at home? he replied, he was not, but that he was expected to dinner. I then inquired if his niece, Miss Peggy, were in town or in the country? The bare answer of the servant, "that she was in the house," gave me such a palpitation at the heart, and such a trembling in my nerves, that I could scarcely stand upright. I stept into the parlour, and sent the servant to ask if she were visible. He immediately returned to announce to me that she was coming down. The presence of this charming person, who appeared in my eyes more beautiful than ever, increased my disorder; and I remained motionless as a statue. In vain I attempted to speak; my mouth and tongue refused to perform their functions. Speechless, and almost petrified, I stood with my eyes fixed on her in extasy and admiration. As soon as I was sufficiently tranquillised to be able to speak, I told her, that, having been engaged in the unfortunate affair of Prince Charles, I had hesitated very much whether or not I should present myself to her uncle, lest I exposed my friends to disagreeable consequences in case of my being discovered in their houses; but that the remem-

brance of the civilities and kindness which I had received from her uncle, six years ago, had been always so deeply engraven on my mind, that I could not resist the temptation of personally offering to him the assurance of my lasting gratitude.

Whilst I spoke, the adorable Miss Peggy looked at me with an eye full of compassion, pity, and sweetness, and then said, — That her uncle, having always entertained a sincere friendship for me, would certainly feel for my misfortunes; and that he would disregard any inconvenience to which he might expose himself, for the pleasure of seeing me and of being useful to me. In the mean time her uncle entered, and was much surprised at seeing me again. He embraced me very affectionately, and when I related my disasters to him, he replied, that I was a pretty fellow to wish to be a king maker; that for his part, he did not care whether King George, King James, or the devil were upon the throne of England, provided he was left in peaceable possession of his estate, which he would not hazard for all the kings in the universe. He added, that he felt very much for my situation, and advised me to shun all places where I might meet any of my countrymen. He made me a hearty offer of his house, till I could find an opportunity of escaping beyond sea, and begged me to avail myself of his offer immediately, by remaining to dine with them.

Several persons called on them after dinner, to whom the uncle introduced me, under the name of Mr. Leslie; and I made a party at quadrille, with Miss Peggy and two other ladies. How quickly does time glide away in the company of those we love! I passed the whole of the most delicious day with her which I had ever known, and it appeared to me but an instant. The uncle told me, at supper, that he had staid at home all the after-

noon on my account, and begged me to have the goodness to lay aside all ceremony, as he should no longer consider me a stranger in his house. I returned to pass the night in the house of my generous female friend, with a quiet contented mind; but before taking leave, the uncle invited me to come every day to breakfast, and pass the day with them; and his adorable niece joined in the invitation, adding, that in going out early in the morning I should be less exposed to meet in the streets any of my countrymen who might happen to know me. He likewise offered me a room in his house, which I did not choose to accept, for fear of involving him in some awkward affair, in case of my being followed in the streets by any one who knew me, and arrested in his house.

I passed fifteen days continually with my adorable Peggy, from nine o'clock in the morning till eleven o'clock at night, when I returned to sleep in the house of my hospitable female friend. The easy conversation of Peggy, characterised by good sense and wit, the knowledge which she modestly displayed, her freedom from all affectation, being truly learned without any ostentation of knowledge, her sweetness of temper, her delicacy of sentiment, all filled me with admiration of the perfections of her soul, and the beauty of her person. I had not yet dared to declare to her that I loved her, for fear of shocking her. How timid are we when we sincerely love! What a change in my character! I no longer knew myself. I had always been bold and enterprising with the fair sex; and when I did not succeed, I made my retreat with a good grace, and without being disconcerted; but in presence of this divine person, I looked down when she turned her eyes towards me, and whenever I attempted to reveal my passion I was imme-

diately seized with trembling; I remained petrified, and unable to open my mouth. She seemed to me a supreme good, which I was afraid of losing, by shocking her with a declaration of my love, in case her sentiments with respect to me were unfavourable. Always afraid of offending her, even by the slightest word, I allowed no other signs of my excessive love and affection to escape me than an occasional sign, or my apparent uneasiness, which she might very well attribute to my unfortunate situation, and not to the true cause.

Having passed a whole day *tête-à-tête* with her, after suffering a long and cruel combat, wishing to declare the sentiments of my soul, without being able to conquer my irresolution, deprived almost of respiration, I at length threw myself suddenly at her feet, seized her hands in a transport, and bathed them with my tears. I could only say, with a broken voice and trembling lips, that I adored her; that I wished to live only for her; that my passion was of an old date, as my eyes must have told her the state of my heart in 1740, before my departure for Scotland. She immediately desired me to rise, telling me coolly, that she had always had a great esteem for me; that she was extremely sorry to see me so inconsiderate, in the terrible crisis in which I then was, between life and death; that, every day, my companions were dragged to the scaffold; that I might every moment expect to follow them, and to undergo the same punishment; and she exhorted me to think more rationally, and rather of the means of saving my life, than of filling my head with chimeras. "Ah! my angel!" replied I, passionately, "if you cannot love me, I should envy their fate, and eagerly meet death. It is you alone that can render life of any value in my eyes, and without you it is not worth the preserving." From that moment I had

a tacit permission to express all the tenderness and affection that the most violent passion could inspire; which, however, never failed to draw down on me strong reprimands from her, and advice to act more like a reasonable man.

Her cold and reserved behaviour towards me grieved and affected me beyond all endurance, while her gracious, prepossessing, and engaging manners towards other men, whom she treated so very differently, rendered me excessively jealous. I imagined that all those to whom she showed the least civility or politeness, stood much higher in her opinion and were more in her good graces than myself. One of her relations had made her a present of a handsome snuff-box, of *ecaille tournée de Maubois*, lined with gold, with an exquisitely beautiful miniature,—one of the first of these boxes which had appeared in England. Whilst I was one day *tête-à-tête* with her, I observed her absent and thoughtful, frequently taking out the box and examining the miniature. My jealousy instantly broke out against the box. I bitterly reproached her, observing that certainly her mind could not be occupied with the miniature, which she had so often seen, but that she was that moment thinking of the person who had made her a present of it; that he was the happiest of mortals in possessing her heart, whilst my sad and cruel fate was truly pitiable; that I was overwhelmed with afflictions of every kind, and ready to sink under my misfortunes; that I could support, with patience, her rigours, and the cold indifference which she continually showed me; but that the very thoughts of her loving another, and my having a happy rival, plunged a dagger in my heart. My adorable Peggy immediately dashed the snuff-box against the marble chimney-piece, which broke it in a thousand pieces, telling me, with

warmth that I should never have any reason to fear a rival; that she loved me tenderly, and would no longer conceal her sentiments towards me. She conjured me, at the same time, to take no improper advantage of this knowledge of her way of thinking with respect to me, and to be satisfied with her friendship; which would be constant and invariable as long as she existed.

Heavens! What were my transports! The surprise kept me for a moment speechless and immovable, as I could scarcely believe my own ears! I seized her in my arms; I pressed her to my bosom; I gave her a thousand tender kisses, shedding at the same time tears of joy. I swore to her an eternal love and friendship, protested that my affection should be unalterable, and my fidelity proof against every trial, till my latest sigh. I assured her these were the first vows which I had ever made, and pronounced in all the sincerity of my soul, and in perfect truth, that I adored her; that she deserved to be adored as a prodigy by the whole universe; that all the perfections and amiable qualities to be found in her whole sex, were united in her person; and that her overpowering beauty, which it was impossible to see without being smitten with it, was the least of her charms.

After this avowal of my angelic Peggy, I regretted every moment that was not passed in her company. Time flew away with extreme rapidity; hours and days appeared to me but as moments. I saw her every day, and the last day always seemed the shortest; the shortest absence was insupportable, and cost me inexpressible pain, those moments in which she was not before my eyes, to enable me to adore her, were to me moments of melancholy and sorrow. I desired no other treasures from the Supreme Being than those I now possessed, and I had no other

prayers to offer up to heaven, than for the continuation of the felicity I enjoyed. Happy moments that I passed with my charming Peggy! They were the only happy moments I ever knew, and the only ones I can ever again know. Dearly, however, have I since paid for this happiness, in the tears it has cost me, and will continue to cost me, every time that I call to mind those blissful moments, which fortune has converted into bitterness and regret for the rest of my life.

Hearing one day in my room a noise in the street, I approached the window; but what was my surprise when I saw twelve of my companions in the hands of the officers of justice, who were conducting them for execution to the scaffold on Kennington-common! They belonged to the garrison which Prince Charles had left at Carlisle, upon our retreat from England; and Messrs. Hamilton and Townley, the governors of the town and castle of Carlisle, were of the number of this unfortunate party. I was the more struck on seeing them, because had it not been for my obstinacy and firmness, I should then have been undergoing with them an ignominious punishment. When the Duke of Perth, my colonel, commanded me, on our retreat, to remain with my company in Carlisle, I answered that I would willingly shed the last drop of my blood for Prince Charles, but that I should never allow myself to be marked out as a victim for certain destruction, and I left him in a rage, without waiting for his reply. Persisting in my resolution, I set out next morning with the army. Two days after our departure, when the news of the capture of Carlisle, by the Duke of Cumberland, reached us, the Duke of Perth, who was of a very limited capacity, but at the same time a most worthy and gallant man, told me he pardoned my disobedience, and that he had been himself deceived as to the strength of

the place, as he believed it capable of sustaining a siege.* I fervently thanked the Almighty, who had watched over my destiny; for without my obstinacy, my lot at that moment must have been to end my days in the same fatal manner. What a difference of situation! — To have only a quarter of an hour's existence, or to be the most happy of mortals, as I then was! On how little does the good or bad fortune of a whole life depend! This is frequently the affair of a moment, never to be recalled. The least error in judgment is attended with an infinite train of necessary and inevitable consequences.

The little attention I paid my hospitable female friend with whom I lodged, began somewhat to irritate her mind, to render her uneasy, and even to sour her temper; and in reality she had every possible reason for being angry with me, as I passed my whole time with my adorable Peggy; and when absent from her I was thoughtful, and lost in reveries, and little capable of showing my hostess that gratitude which she merited, for the essential services she had rendered me. In short, I was a most dull and awkward associate for any other than my dear Peggy; notwithstanding the efforts which I frequently made to display at least a forced gaiety, which, however, were very unsuccessful; for during my whole life I have never been able so far to disguise my feelings, as to prevent any one from reading at once my displeasure and my discontent in my physiognomy. My hostess frequently reproached me on account of my coldness and indifference. I pitied her myself, for she was truly a worthy woman, and merited a better return from me, for the continual attentions she showed me, and the warm and tender interest she took

* See a note on the surrender of Carlisle, p. 79.

in every thing that concerned me. I always assigned my cruel situation as the cause, and endeavoured to persuade her of the impossibility of my being otherwise, suspended as I then was, between life and death, seeing my companions daily led to the scaffold, and uncertain whether I should not immediately follow them, as my fate in that respect depended on one unfortunate moment of discovery. This good and amiable woman possessed great sweetness and good sense, and was sufficiently disposed to believe whatever I told her.

Whilst I was breakfasting one morning in my room with my landlady, I was thunderstruck at seeing my charming Peggy enter, excited by a desire to see my landlady, from some distrust that she entertained with respect to me. My poor landlady, the moment she saw my angelic Peggy, fixed her eyes on the ground, blushed, and remained quite confounded. She wished to retire, but I prevented her. My Peggy having satisfied her curiosity, withdrew in about a quarter of an hour; and whispered in my ear on going down stairs, that she had nothing to fear. My landlady immediately reproached me, but without bitterness, observing that she was no longer astonished at my indifference, now that she had seen the cause of it; that she could not blame me, as the lady was the most beautiful person she had ever seen; with the most engaging manners, and an affable air full of goodness, adding that she was certain no man could resist her charms. I wished to avail myself of the same arguments I had before urged; but she was no longer to be duped by them.

Whatever confidence I might have in the sweetness and honourable disposition of my landlady, it was still a matter of prudence to take precautions against the bad effects which might happen to me from this adventure; especially as she might, in a moment

of irritation, have recourse to a prompt vengeance, which could not fail to prove most fatal to me. She had nothing to do but to inform against me, when I would instantly be arrested. The resentment of women who have supposed themselves slighted, has, but too frequently displayed itself in this manner. I therefore resolved to look out for another lodging that very day, and I was fortunate enough to find an apartment in the house of a hair-dresser, in the neighbourhood of the mansion of my dear Peggy. Having told my landlady next morning, that I had found an opportunity of effecting my escape beyond sea, I immediately quitted my lodgings, after taking leave of this amiable woman, giving her all possible assurances of my gratitude and my eternal remembrance of the services she had rendered me. She embraced me with tears in her eyes, truly afflicted at our separation; and as my heart was not sufficiently hard to resist a beautiful woman in tears, I was very sensibly touched with her sentiments for me.

In order to form an idea of the uninterrupted felicity I enjoyed with my charming Peggy, the whole force of love and friendship united must first be known. Our moments were too delicious and precious for our not avoiding every thing that could disturb our *tête-à-têtes*. Her door was shut to all visits, which she returned by twenties in a day. She was never visible, and always found plausible reasons to justify to her uncle this change in her manner of living. How every thing pleases when the mind is satisfied and content! We often walked in the neighbourhood of London, where nature seemed to put on a new countenance. Every thing appeared smiling; the solitary walks seemed gay, the verdure beautiful, the flowers of the most brilliant hue, the views picturesque, the innocence of a country life enviable; every thing charmed the senses, and afforded an agreeable pro-

spect. It was the presence of my Peggy that embellished these rural scenes. Deceived by the velocity of time, night frequently surprised us in our walks without our perceiving it. I possessed all I wished for, and was insensible to every thing that had not an immediate relation to my present happiness, of which I felt all the value. Even the daily executions of my companions made no impression on me. I looked forward to a danger much more terrible in my eyes than death; which was that of being separated from all that rendered life interesting to me. I rejected all the opportunities of escaping to a foreign country, which her uncle and several other friends were continually busied in procuring for me; in the belief that I could not survive a separation with the uncertainty of ever seeing her again, the very idea of which filled me with terror and alarm. I always therefore pretended that the occasions, daily offered me were not sufficiently safe, though I could have had a passport for Holland, signed by the Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state.

On returning from our evening walk, having learned that one of my relations had lately arrived from Scotland, I communicated to Peggy my anxiety to obtain some information respecting my family, and instead of supping with her as usual, I took a coach and drove to the lodgings of my relation. As soon as I entered he began to condole with me on the loss which I had sustained; but I paid no attention to what he said, imagining he alluded to the misfortunes that were common to me, with all those who had been attached to Prince Charles. However he soon gave me to understand, that my mother and my sister Rollo both died a few days after I left Scotland; and that my mother's last words were "I now die contented and satisfied, since I know that my poor dear son is safe."

My relation was one of those grammatical blockheads, who thoroughly understand Greek and Latin, but who are profoundly ignorant of the human heart, and of the most ordinary circumstances of life. Had he been capable of the least reflection, he would have prepared me for such an overwhelming blow. How Heaven mingles bitterness with sweets! I remained a moment confounded and immoveable as a statue; I then turned suddenly round, and flew down stairs, without uttering one word in answer to his foolish compliments. When I got into the coach, I could scarcely tell the coachman to drive me home. I was nearly suffocated in the coach, where I fainted, and remained for some minutes insensible. Fortunately, on feeling the approach of the disposition to suffocation and difficulty of breathing, I immediately took off my handkerchief, and also unbuttoned the neck of my shirt. I recovered from my fainting-fit with a torrent of tears, which were a great relief to me. The coachman, who knew nothing of my state, continued his course, and I am even disposed to believe that the rough motion of the coach was of great benefit to me. When I reached my lodgings, my landlord, who had a kind and compassionate heart, seeing me in distress, followed me into my room, and having learned the cause of it, began immediately to moralize and repeat to me all the old and hackneyed topics of scholastic consolation. I seized him in a fit of rage by the shoulders, pushed him rudely out of my room, and ordered him never to set his foot in it again till I should ask him. I then locked the door and threw myself upon my bed, dressed as I was, and passed the night in tears and sighs without closing my eyes. I accused myself as the innocent cause of the death of the most tender of mothers, by the pain and anxiety which she had felt for me since the battle of Culloden. I looked

upon myself as a monster of ingratitude, in having remained two months in the house of Lady Jane Douglas, within a quarter of a league of her, sick as she then was, and on the point of death, without seeing her. I ought to have exposed my life a thousand times rather than not see her, in order to embrace her, bid her an eternal farewell, and receive her blessing. It then seemed to me that this would have been a great consolation to me, and that I could afterwards have seen her pay the tribute to nature with patience and resignation. I blamed at the same time Lady Jane Douglas and my father, who prevented me from seeing her. It was impossible to pass a more cruel night. I was so much affected at the death of my mother, that I thought little of my sister Rollo, though I tenderly loved her. My father in his letters had concealed their death from me, from an apprehension that the intelligence would be too distressing to me, and believing that my situation was already sufficiently painful. In this, however, he acted injudiciously. By communicating the intelligence to me with precaution, he might have secured me from the danger of a surprise, such as that which I experienced when it came suddenly on me like a clap of thunder; a surprise that might have been fatal to me. On entering I wrote a note to the uncle of my charming Peggy, acquainting him with the distressing news which I had received.

About ten o'clock next morning I heard a knocking at my door. I still remained in the state I was in on entering my lodgings the night before, with all my clothes on, and without having even changed my attitude, since throwing myself on my bed. But, oh, heavens! What a relief to my sufferings!—when, instead of my landlord, whom I supposed at my door, with an intention of renewing his importunate and stupid lectures, I heard the gentle voice of my adorable Peggy, who came like a guardian angel to

dispel in a moment the storms and tempests by which I had been agitated, and to restore me to life. My divine beauty had arranged this visit with her uncle, who, by nature, had an aversion to the society of people in distress, in order to engage me to pass the day with her. The moment I saw her I felt as if a healing balm had at once pervaded my whole frame. My sufferings and agitation suddenly diminished; in viewing her, my soul became at once serene and tranquil. She loved me tenderly. She entered warmly into my sufferings, and shared my distress: — she mingled her tears with mine; but the pearly drops that fell from her lovely eyes, and which I eagerly wiped away with my lips, strongly affected me. To see her afflicted was a thousand times more insupportable to me than my own pain and distress.

My charming Peggy restored me to myself by lessons of philosophy, very different from the pedantic maxims of the schools. She approved of my affliction for the loss of a tender mother, whose preservation was become more necessary to me than ever, in consequence of my forced removal from my country. She excused the weakness I showed in yielding myself up entirely to griefs of which an unfeeling heart is unsusceptible. She demonstrated to me, with energy, that life was too subject to the persecutions of Providence, and to a concatenation of perpetual misfortunes, to allow us to regret or pity those who are no longer in a state to feel those persecutions and misfortunes, and more particularly to pity one overwhelmed with disease, as my mother had been for several years. She led me to reflect on my critical situation, and pointed out to me the danger to which I should expose myself, by indulging in fruitless grief to such a degree as to allow my health to be affected by it. In a word, the heavenly and persuasive tongue of my charming Peggy, the refinement and deli-

cacy of her reasonings, the eloquence of a mouth so beautiful and so dear to me, made more impression upon me in an hour than all the common-place remarks of foolish sermonisers by profession could have produced in an age. I immediately found my heart lightened, and a perfect calm regain possession of my soul. She insisted upon my dining and passing the day with her. I could refuse her nothing, though I was so much disfigured from the red and swollen appearance of my eyes that an acquaintance could hardly have known me. As soon as I had changed my linen, I repaired to her uncle's, who entered very warmly into my misfortunes, and my charming Peggy did every thing in her power to dissipate the sorrow and melancholy which preyed on me. Man never remains long in the same state. The ocean of his soul is agitated by his passions; and to what an inundation of ideas this internal shock gives rise! The tempest which disturbs the ocean, and the calm which succeeds, are only separated by a short interval.

Reciprocal love, founded on friendship, is the most precious gift of fortune: its power is unlimited. It is superior to all wealth, honours, titles, and the other gewgaws which are so eagerly sought after; while, at the same time, it is insensible and invulnerable to the empoisoned darts of adversity. It deadens the stings of the most dreadful misfortunes, and lightens the most insupportable pains and sufferings. Content and satisfied with their mutual affection, they brave fortune in the midst of the most envenomed persecutions, remain firm and unshaken, and withstand the rigours of its power. It is only in the union of the two sexes that we can find that true and sincere friendship which is proscribed from the society of men. The two souls are confounded and blended together; having only the same senti-

ments and ways of thinking, the aspect of misery does not cause them to tremble ; they can support it without murmuring ; and they trample on ambition, as they only wish for a continuation of the sentiments which constitute their happiness. How often have I demanded from Heaven only a cottage and the fare of Samuel, with my Peggy, when I should have been the happiest of mortals! My dear Peggy frequently repeated the same wishes ; and I am persuaded that, in such a situation, nothing could have disturbed our satisfaction and contentment. Happiness is altogether an affair of the imagination. If we only believe ourselves happy, we are really happy. Providence enabled me, once in my life-time, to know that there may exist on this earth a happiness the most perfect, secure against all the reverses and caprices of fortune : but, alas! this knowledge has only served to poison the rest of my days with the remembrance of those happy moments.

A day or two after I had treated my landlord somewhat harshly, he sent a servant to me to say, that if I were visible, he wished to have the honour of speaking to me. On entering my room he made a number of excuses for having taken it upon him to console me, observing, that his heart bled on seeing me in such deep distress. He then proposed to me, by way of a party of pleasure, to accompany him to the house of a friend on Tower-hill, who had promised him a window, from which he could see two rebels beheaded, the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, two peers of Scotland. I thanked him for his attention ; but excused myself, telling him, that he might easily see that I had too feeling a heart to take any pleasure in spectacles of that description. He little imagined that I was as guilty as they, and that there was

no difference between us, except what fortune had made in enabling me to escape being taken prisoner.

A friend came to inform me, that the captain of a merchant ship, whom he knew to be a man of honour and fidelity, had undertaken, for his sake, to take me on board, disguised as a sailor; but, in order to avail myself of this opportunity, it was necessary that I should embark next morning. The idea of tearing myself from all that was dear to me was insupportable, and I shuddered to think of quitting my adorable Peggy. I therefore answered, that this opportunity was not without risk of discovery; for they had only to look at my hands, which were too delicate for a sailor, to discover me; and, besides, as I knew nothing of the management of a vessel, the trick was quite obvious. He obviated these difficulties by informing me, that the captain had foreseen them, and would make me pass for a sick person, the moment I entered his ship. He urged me very much to embrace this opportunity, as he ardently wished to see me out of danger; but all his arguments were useless, and he could not conceive how I should expose myself to the danger of being beheaded on the scaffold, whilst I had the means of escaping from this danger. He knew not that I loved my Peggy more than my life.

I told my charming Peggy that an opportunity had at length presented itself for my escaping beyond sea, with a captain of a merchant ship, who had offered to take me on board the evening of the following day, and that the succeeding morning he would set sail; so that there was no danger of my being discovered. I did not tell her what resolution I had formed. She immediately grew pale, changed colour several times, and remained speech-

less, absorbed in reflections, and sustaining a cruel combat inwardly, as I could easily see from her uneasiness and her air of embarrassment. After a moment's silence, she replied, with warmth, and at the same time with tears in her eyes, "Yes, my dear friend! I prefer your safety to my own satisfaction and tranquillity; however, it must be owned, that I am very unfortunate." I did not allow her to remain another moment in a state of painful suspense: I embraced her tenderly, and told her that I had not only rejected this opportunity, but that I should also reject every other which might be proposed to me; being determined rather to die a thousand deaths than to separate myself from her, whose absence would be insupportable and render life a burden to me.

Whilst we were dining one day, *tête-à-tête,* all at once she became pale, her air became restless and embarrassed, and her eyes were continually turned to the windows that looked into the street. She kept rising every instant, and was incessantly leaving the room and returning. Having several times asked her, with eagerness, if any thing was the matter with her, and if she felt unwell? she answered in monosyllables, and equivocally. I earnestly entreated her, at length, to tell me frankly the cause of her uneasiness during the last quarter of an hour. "Oh! my dear friend," she exclaimed, "you are undone! I see a person who is certainly an officer of justice, and I have observed him for some time passing and repassing before our house, with his eyes incessantly fixed on the door. He is undoubtedly sent to watch you, till a detachment comes to take you prisoner. Perhaps some one, having recognised you this morning, and followed you to the house, without your observing him, has forthwith informed

against you. I have examined the house, from the cellar to the garret, and there is no place where you can conceal yourself."

I examined the man, and, in reality, no police-runner could have a more villanous appearance. The adventure alarmed me, and the more so, as a person in the dress and with the appearance of a porter, had, three days before, asked for me at her uncle's; and, as he would not tell whence he came, they said I had left the house. When I first lodged at the house of my good friend my former landlady, I had imprudently told her the address of Peggy's uncle, not then foreseeing the consequences. I suspected, at first, that this must have originated in a feeling of revenge on her part, as none but she could know that I spent every day, from morning till night, in the house in question; but when I reflected on her great sweetness of temper and goodness of disposition, I could not think her capable of so much baseness. I went out every morning in a hackney coach, with the blinds up, so that it was almost impossible I could have been recognised by any one in the street. In short, I knew not what to think of the matter.

As the man still continued to walk backwards and forwards, never losing sight of the door of the house, I knew not well what course to take. I was undecided whether I should go out immediately, before the arrival of the soldiers, and trust to my sword and my heels, which would create a terrible uproar in the street, or whether I should remain quietly in the house, and wait the result. My charming Peggy sprung to my neck, and tenderly embracing me, exclaimed, with an impassioned warmth, "No, you shall not die on the scaffold! If I cannot succeed in saving you, through the interest of my friends, who are in favour at court, I will visit you in prison the evening before the day of ex-

ecution with two doses of poison, and I will take one to set you an example how to make use of the other." Good heavens! the idea of my adorable Peggy's dying by poison filled me with horror. * I did not in the least doubt that she was capable of keeping her word, knowing, as I did, the violence and determination which the fair sex in England possess, in a degree not to be found in any other nation. As to myself personally, poison would have been of all things the most acceptable to me after my condemnation; and the supplying me with it would have been a most friendly action.

I entreated my Peggy to go with me and examine the house once more. In this survey I remarked a window in the garret, by which I could go out upon the roof, and pass from thence to the roof of a neighbouring house. I immediately dispatched my Peggy to watch as a sentinel at the window below, with a silver bell in her hand, which she was to ring as soon as she saw people approach the door to knock; and it was agreed on that the ringing of the bell should serve as a signal for my going out upon the roof. I took off my shoes lest they should make me slip on the slates and break my neck, and I put them in my pocket; and I held the window with both hands, with the intention of springing out the in-

* Though I admire the works of the celebrated J. J. Rousseau as much as any man, yet the portrait which he has drawn of his hero St. Preux, in the *Nouvelle Heloise*, has always appeared to me that of a coarse-minded and selfish person, whose love was founded solely on enjoyment, without friendship for basis. When he is tempted to throw himself into the water with Madame de Wolmar, on returning from *Meillerie*, this is the impulse of jealousy driven mad, on being deprived of the power of brutally enjoying her. When our love is sincere, and founded in friendship, we may indeed destroy ourselves through despair; but no one who loves with friendship and tenderness will ever think of destroying the dear object that entirely possesses his soul. The very idea fills him with horror. — *Author.*

stant I heard the bell. Having remained a quarter of an hour in this attitude, in the utmost uneasiness, my dear Peggy returned with a changed countenance, and immediately said, with a smile, "Plague take them both! it is, I suppose, the sweetheart of my chamber-maid. She has just asked my permission to go out to walk, and the moment she was in the street she familiarly took hold of his arm." The villanous look of this man threw us into a dreadful alarm.

A few days after this adventure, whilst I was dining with Peggy and her uncle, the servant entered and informed me, that a gentleman wished to speak with me in the anti-chamber; I immediately went out, and was surprised at seeing Mr. Colvill, Lady Jane Douglas's man of business. He told me, that she had lately formed the resolution of residing in France, and that he had been sent to London to procure a passport, which she had obtained for one servant more than she actually had, in order that she might have an opportunity of taking me with her, and thus enable me to escape to Holland; that he had left her at Huntingdon, about twenty leagues to the north of London, in the house of a Mr. Raith, where she should wait three days for me, before setting out for Harwich, the seaport for the packet-boats to Holland; and that she was accompanied by Mr. Stewart and Miss Hewitt.

What dreadful news! Before knowing my divine Peggy, nothing would have been so ardently wished for by me as such an opportunity for escape. But now matters were changed! I lived and desired to live only for her. I remained some moments quite confounded, not knowing what to answer. I was resolved not to avail myself of the offer of Lady Jane Douglas, whilst, at the same time, I was embarrassed how I should imme-

diately find a plausible excuse to justify my refusal; and was apprehensive lest she should imagine, from the extravagance of my conduct, that I had lost my senses; for who could ever imagine that any one with the prospect of execution on the scaffold every day before him, in case of his discovery, would refuse an opportunity of escaping that danger? After a moment's reflection, I told Mr. Colvill that I should, during the whole course of my life, retain the most grateful sense of the goodness of Lady Jane towards me, but that as my friends in London had discovered several means of enabling me to escape to the Continent, without any danger of discovery, I would not, for the world, expose her ladyship again to any troublesome embarrassment, having already put her kindness so much to the test: and I begged Mr. Colvill to tell her, in his letter, not to wait for me in Huntingdon, as I could not think of availing myself of her generous and obliging offer, when I reflected on the inconveniencies to which I should thereby expose her. Mr. Colvill immediately took his leave, and I returned to table without saying a word about what had taken place. I only mentioned that it was the man of business of Lady Jane Douglas, whom she had sent to enquire after me. During the interview, I dreaded nothing so much as that the uncle, from not knowing the person with whom I was in conversation, might, from uneasiness on my account, leave the dining room and join us, when the discovery of my inconceivable extravagance would have led him to suspect the true cause of my refusal.

As soon as the uncle went out, which he commonly did in the afternoon, I communicated to my dear Peggy the obliging offer of Lady Jane Douglas, and the difficulty which I had had in get-

ting rid of it: adding, that I had refused it, as I should certainly refuse whatever should separate me from her. "Ah! my dear friend," replied she, "you have done very wrong in refusing it. I suffer continual pain and uneasiness on your account, which I conceal from you. Your situation fills me with incessant uneasiness and apprehension, and hardly a night passes in which I do not dream I see you in the hands of the executioner. As the last occasion which presented itself was not without danger of discovery I imagined that it might have the effect of tearing you from me to bring you to immediate punishment, and I was therefore glad that you refused it: but this occasion is very different. Lady Jane Douglas is of so illustrious a family that the court would not dare to tease her, or to insult her by subjecting her to a rigorous examination on mere suspicion; and as there could be no positive information in such a case, you could have run no risk with her, and you would have effected your escape." I was penetrated with the most heart-felt grief in hearing her endeavour to persuade me to depart, and I interrupted her with accusations of inconstancy, and warmly reproached her for her indifference. "No, my dear friend," exclaimed she, "you wrong me. My sentiments are so little changed with regard to you, that I reserve for you a proof stronger than any you have yet received, and which I wished not to communicate to you till the occurrence of a favourable moment for carrying my project into execution. I have long determined to share your fate; and to abandon for you my country, my parents, and whatever is dear to me; and I have only waited for a safe opportunity for your escaping without danger. An opportunity now presents itself in the offer of Lady Jane Douglas, such as I have long desired. I will disguise myself as a man, and take my passage in the same packet-boat with Lady Jane, without

appearing to know you. Let us go immediately in quest of clothes among the brokers, in order that we may be ready to set off to-morrow morning. Providence," she added, "will give us bread; and I shall be content to live with you on rustic fare, in preference to all the riches of the universe."

I embraced my adorable Peggy, with tears in my eyes, and assured her that I loved her more than my life; and that that very tenderness and affection which I vowed to her to my latest sigh, would never allow me to plunge her into ruin and wretchedness, — by doing which, I should, at the same time, draw down upon myself the contempt and indignation of her family; that if I had a certainty of our being enabled to subsist independently of others the case would be different; but that I did not know what would become of me on reaching a foreign country, nor how I should subsist till I obtained employment. My dear friend, on seeing me determined not to permit her to take this precipitate step, spoke no more to me of my departure; and we passed the evening together with all the pleasure and satisfaction which two persons completely devoted to each other by the sacred and inviolable ties of the most perfect and sincere friendship can feel in such a situation.

Having returned to my lodgings, after supper, I went to bed; but I was unable to close an eye. A thousand different reflections crowded on my mind. I examined my situation in London, which, independently of the danger to which I was continually exposed of being arrested, was such, that I had no certainty of being enabled to subsist for any length of time. Having already experienced the harshness of my father, it was evident that I should, sooner or later, be in want of money. My Peggy had the prospect of being one day very rich; but she did not, any more than

myself, possess an independent income. As it was my intention to repair to Russia, as soon as I should effect my escape to the continent, where my Peggy knew I had the most powerful protection, through the credit of my two uncles, who were still alive, I flattered myself with the prospect of being able to obtain a regiment on my arrival in Russia, or soon afterwards. I thus hoped for a change in my circumstances, such as would enable me to share my fortune with her; and then I could either return to England incognito, to visit her, or induce her to repair to the country, to the service of which I might be attached.

I also thought, that as it was the interest of France, in every sense of the word, to re-establish the House of Stuart on the throne of England, the court of Versailles might abandon the old system on which it had, for eighty years acted, of making use of this unfortunate house as a scare-crow to frighten the English, (a policy now worn out, and no longer productive of any effect,) and at length make a serious attempt in favour of Prince Charles Edward, and then I should return to England in a brilliant situation, to rejoin my Peggy. A thousand other considerations made me hesitate whether I should not yet avail myself of this opportunity of escaping with Lady Jane Douglas; but always on the supposition that my dear friend wished that I should embrace it, independently of her project of accompanying me.

I rose betimes, and went to breakfast with my Peggy. As soon as her uncle left the room to dress, I communicated my nocturnal reflections to her, demanding, at the same time, her opinion, and that she would herself decide whether I should go or remain. She renewed her proposal of accompanying me; but I solemnly protested that I would never suffer this, and that it was useless to speak any more on that subject; that I would

perish rather under the hands of the executioner, than allow her to precipitate herself in an abyss of ruin and destruction. Seeing that I was inflexible, she told me that I must decidedly accompany Lady Jane Douglas, and that she would willingly sacrifice her own happiness and tranquillity to see me out of danger. As time pressed, and as I could not expect that Lady Jane Douglas would wait an instant for me at Huntingdon, after hearing my answer to Mr. Colvill, she ordered me to go immediately to the coach-office, and take a place in the diligence that goes in one day from London to Huntingdon, and which would set off next morning at three o'clock. I forwarded my luggage at the same time, that I might have nothing more on my mind, but be able to give myself altogether up to my Peggy. Finding her uncle in the room on my return from the coach-office, I mentioned to him the offer of Lady Jane Douglas, my determination to accept it, and my intention of setting off next morning. He expressed his satisfaction at my good fortune in finding so favourable an opportunity, though he regretted that I was so soon to quit them.

I took leave of her uncle immediately after dinner, and went to meet my charming Peggy at a rendezvous which we had agreed on, to pass the few precious moments that were left us, in some solitary walk out of town. This was the more necessary, as so affecting a separation would not admit of witnesses; and especially of the presence of her uncle, who had not the least suspicion of our sentiments. The afternoon, which was the most melancholy we ever knew, was spent in reciprocal vows and promises of eternal fidelity and constancy; nevertheless it passed with the velocity of lightning. A hundred times I was tempted to renounce my intention of departing; and I had occasion for all

the fortitude of my charming Peggy to confirm me in my resolution. She accompanied me to the coach-office, where having remained together till half-past eight o'clock, she called a coach, and entered it, more dead than alive.

I followed her coach with my eyes, and when it altogether disappeared, my resolution then became weak and wavering.

My first movement was to run to the room assigned me at the coach-office, with the intention of having my luggage carried back to my lodgings at the hair-dresser's; and feeling it impossible for me to support a separation, I renounced for ever the idea of it. Fortunately reflection came to my aid before my luggage was taken away, and I became sensible that such a singular step would open the eyes of her uncle, betray us, and involve us in the most unpleasant embarrassments. I therefore returned to my room, and threw myself down on my bed to wait for the departure of the diligence, giving myself wholly up to despair, and ready to sink under the load of my affliction. I passed in review, at the same time, all my various misfortunes, which crowded on my troubled mind, painted in the most powerful colours. If I could have foreseen that this was the last time I should ever see her, no consideration on earth could have torn me from her; and, rather than have left her, I should have coolly awaited the ignominious death with which I was every day threatened. Vain hopes! Vain illusions! My life has been one continued and uninterrupted series, a perpetual concatenation of the effects of adverse fortune. The Supreme Being has assigned a fixed period for the dissolution of every thing that is created of matter; but, if there be such a thing as immortality, our two souls will be eternally united.

The coach set off at two o'clock in the morning, and we ar-

rived at Huntingdon at eight at night. Lady Jane Douglas had left it the preceding evening, for Harwich; not supposing, from the answer of Mr. Colvill, that there was any ground to expect me there.

I took post next morning, hoping to join her before her arrival at Harwich; but the wretched post-horses were so much fatigued by the rate at which I proceeded that I was obliged to sleep at Newmarket. Next morning I hired a curricle, and arrived before sun-set at an arm of the sea, about a league in breadth, from which I could see Harwich on the other side. A frigate, of about forty guns, was riding at anchor in the middle of this arm of the sea.

I immediately applied to the owner of the boats and other craft stationed here, who kept a tavern, for a passage across this arm of the sea; but, in spite of all my entreaties, threats, and offers of rewarding him handsomely, he persisted in refusing me, telling me that the government had prohibited all passage after sun-set, on account of the smuggling, and that the frigate was stationed there for the express purpose of enforcing the prohibition. I was grieved and enraged beyond measure to think that I should lose the opportunity of accompanying Lady Jane, after the painful struggle I had had before I could bring myself to determine to avail myself of it. His obstinacy was not to be overcome either by my intreaties or my threats. He told me, that the captain of the frigate, who was drinking in his house with his officers, would throw him into prison if he complied with my request, and his vessel would be confiscated into the bargain. The captain of the frigate, having heard my dispute with the owner of the boats, came out of the tavern to question me. I was not at all disconcerted, but answered at once

that I was a servant of Mrs. Gray, (a travelling name which Lady Jane Douglas had taken,) who was now at Harwich, ready to embark in the first packet-boat for Holland; that she had sent me to London to execute some commissions for her; and that I was uneasy lest she should leave Harwich before my arrival, with an account of my proceedings, owing to the obstinacy of the master of the boats, whom I could not induce to give me a passage, either by my offers to pay him generously, or my threats to have him punished by complaining to the governor of Harwich. I intreated the captain, with great earnestness, to make use of his authority to compel him, assuring him, that I should not fail to make a faithful report to my mistress of his kindness. He told me that he had seen Mrs. Gray arrive the evening before; that she appeared to be a very amiable lady; and that he should be extremely happy to have it in his power to be of any service to her; but that he could do nothing with the owner of the boats, as he had received positive orders not to cross this arm of the sea after sun-set. He added, that she could not have set sail, as the wind was unfavourable; and he offered to take me in his own boat, and land me at Harwich, as soon as he should be put on board his frigate. I did not hesitate an instant to accept his offer, and entered his boat, not only without apprehension, but boldly and eagerly, telling him that my mistress would feel grateful for his civility and kindness. I should probably have been ruined beyond remedy if I had shown the least timidity or distrust.

We were scarcely a musket-shot from the shore, when the captain pointed out to me one of his midshipmen in the boat, of the name of Lockhart, asking me if I knew his family in Scotland. I answered in the negative, telling him that I had never been in

any other service than that of Mrs. Gray. I was uneasy lest Mr. Lockhart should have recognised me from the windows of the tavern, whilst I was disputing with the landlord, and mentioned who I was to the captain; for, as I had been a school-fellow of his elder brother, and frequently in the house of his father, Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, he might very possibly have known me. He was about eighteen years of age, and had been four years in the navy. His eldest brother, the heir to a considerable estate, had been foolish enough, like so many others, to join the standard of Prince Charles. I suffered cruelly from the thought, that the captain of the frigate had had no other object in view by his civility in offering me his boat, than to get me quietly on board his ship, where he would immediately make me his prisoner. Supposing even young Lockhart not to know that I had been in the army of the Prince, still there was something very mysterious and equivocal in my being disguised in the dress of a servant. It was necessary, however, to submit to my destiny. Heavens! what an accursed and unlucky star pursued and persecuted me, till the moment I arrived in Holland! Who could have expected such an adventure at Harwich? As the boat approached the ship I began to reckon the minutes which were to elapse before I should be handcuffed and in irons. My heart beat dreadfully, although I always preserved a calm exterior, and answered a thousand questions which the captain asked me with coolness and presence of mind, and without being in the least disconcerted; expecting, nevertheless, every moment, that this politeness would cease, that the mask would be dropped, and that the sailors would receive orders to lay hold of me by the neck. Of all my adventures since the battle of Culloden this caused me the most cruel suffering and agitation. I could not,

however, foresee it; nor could I have avoided it, without abandoning the project of escaping to Holland with Lady Jane Douglas. In all my other sinister encounters I had always had some ray of hope of escape, in the possibility of my defending myself or of my taking to my heels; but here I was caught like a fish in a net. At length, on reaching the ship, the captain, having mounted, invited me on board, to drink a glass to the health of my mistress. I looked on this as the *denouement* of the piece. I replied, that I was afraid my mistress would be gone to bed before my arrival in Harwich, and that I had to communicate to her some very important intelligence. He immediately put an end to my sufferings; calling out to the sailors to land me in the town, and not to forget presenting his compliments to Mrs. Gray.

I found Lady Jane Douglas at the inn, and immediately told her the obligation I lay under to the captain of the frigate, and the purgatory in which I had been during the passage, on account of young Lockhart, the son of Carnwath, his midshipman, who certainly must have known me. She praised my firmness, but laughed at the same time, at the singularity of my having made the officers of King George accomplices in saving a rebel, who had attempted to tear the crown from the brow of their sovereign, to place it on the head of Prince Charles Edward.

As the wind was contrary, we remained two days at Harwich before embarking. During our stay, the governor of the town, to whom Lady Jane Douglas had been recommended, became our tormentor, from his excessive politeness and civility. He had received orders from London to show her every attention, and he came twenty times a-day, and at all hours, to ask if she had any occasion for his services. I always bolted the door of

the room to prevent my being surprised at table with my mistress. Whilst we were at dinner, the governor knocked at the door, and he could not be admitted till I had removed my plate, and the table was arranged for three persons. Having opened the door to the governor, I took my station of servant behind the chair of Lady Jane, and she having asked the governor to taste her wine, I presented a glass to him. It was easy to see from his countenance that he suspected some mystery; but to have lightly insulted a person of Lady Jane's illustrious birth, and without being certain of the fact, might have been attended with inconvenience.

The first letter which I received from my charming Peggy informed me, that there was a report in London, that Prince Charles had escaped to Holland with Lady Jane Douglas, disguised as her servant. There is every reason for supposing, that the governor had informed the court of his suspicions; and it was fortunate for us that we set sail next morning, before he could receive any answer authorising him to act on these suspicions. She told me that I was certainly born under a lucky star, and that I could not fail to be one day fortunate. I know not what star has presided at my birth, but my life has been continually passed in misfortune, adversity, pain, want, and the most crying injustice in the service, — very hard to be borne by a man of feeling, and an officer well acquainted with the duties of his profession. I have always been in straits; and the third of the pension given me by the King, for my subsistence, has been retrenched from it. I owe nothing to fortune, which has always cruelly persecuted me, without having once been propitious. Providence has frequently saved my life, as if by a miracle; but that life has never yet been a source of enjoyment to me. All my ambition is now

limited to the possession of the means of subsisting frugally; the having this subsistence secured for the few days that remain to me, and the passing these days in tranquillity and serenity of mind; looking forward to the termination of my existence without either fearing or desiring it. I should be content with mere necessaries, and happy, notwithstanding the injustice of fortune, who usually grants her favours only to the most infamous and contemptible of mortals.

We arrived at Helvoetsluys in twenty-four hours. During our passage I had a whimsical enough scene. Sir ——— Clifton, who happened to be on board the packet-boat, was an acquaintance of Mr. Stewart, and he was invited into the cabin, which Lady Jane had engaged for herself and suite, whilst his servant and myself remained in a little anti-cabin, where we were very uncomfortably situated, and a source of annoyance to each other. This rendered us both very cross and ill-tempered. When we were in bed, our legs were striking against each other, from the smallness of the space in which we were cooped up. We suffered the more, as there were a great many passengers on board, and the weather being rainy, prevented them from going on deck, so that this little place was always literally crammed, and it was hardly possible to breathe in it. Each believing the other to be a footman, our respective observations were delivered in an insulting and contemptuous tone: and the scene would certainly have terminated unfortunately, if Lady Jane had not informed the Baronet, at dinner, that there was a young gentleman in her suite, who had been with Prince Charles Edward, whom she wished to invite into her cabin to eat something. The Baronet told her, that he was in a similar predicament, as the person who acted as his valet was a Mr. Carnie, an officer in the Irish

brigade in the service of France. We were both invited into the cabin to dinner, and on receiving the necessary explanations, we were very much surprised, and made a thousand excuses to each other for our incivility.

I was in a deep sleep when the packet boat arrived in the quay of Helvoetsluys, and all the other passengers were on shore before I was waked. I immediately rushed out of the packet-boat, with my eyes half shut, and began to run as fast as I possibly could from it, as if the captain and his crew had it in their power to arrest me. I could scarcely persuade myself that I was beyond the reach of the English. Lady Jane laughed heartily at seeing me run, and called out, that it was entirely useless, as I was now out of all danger. I became then thoroughly awake. It is impossible to express the pleasure and satisfaction I felt on seeing myself at last safe, after being six months between life and death! No one, without having been in a similar situation, can have any idea of the delight I felt at that moment. Ever since the battle of Culloden, the idea that I should end my days miserably upon the scaffold, had never ceased to haunt my mind. I now felt myself as if raised from the dead.

After remaining eight days at Rotterdam, I departed with Lady Jane Douglas to the Hague, where she took up her residence. As I had long determined to return to Russia, I immediately wrote to my uncle, acquainting him with the distressed situation in which I was then placed, requesting him to inform his friends Prince Curakin and Count Gollovin, that I should be in Petersburg in a few days, and to endeavour to induce them to honour me again with their protection, that I might find some employment on my arrival. Had I followed this resolution, I should have been a general officer many years ago. I was on the

point of setting out for Russia when Lady Jane persuaded me to defer my departure, till we had some positive account of the fate of Prince Charles. Accursed fortune! which has all my life deceived me with false appearances.

Mr. Trevor, the English resident in Holland, having presented a memorial to the States-general, demanding that all the Scots, who had taken refuge in Holland, should be arrested, and delivered up to the English government; to the eternal disgrace of this infamous republic, the Dutch were cowardly enough to comply with the requisition, and to violate the feelings of humanity, and the law of nations. There were then about twenty Scotsmen of our party in Holland. Mr. Ogilvie was arrested and sent to London: the rest left this worthless country as fast as they could; and, as it was necessary that I should remain till I could find an opportunity of going to Petersburg, I repaired in haste to Leyden to enter myself there as a student of medicine; the privileges of this university being so extensive, that the States-general cannot arrest any of its students, except for the crime of assassination. Having succeeded in obtaining the insertion of my name in the register, by means of a few ducats, which I gave to Professor Gaubeus, I returned immediately to the Hague, where we learned, a few days afterwards, that Prince Charles had escaped to France. The desire of seeing him again, and the hope of another attempt in his favour, determined me to abandon my resolution of going to Russia; and my fate was decided, for the rest of my days, by my arrival in Paris towards the end of the year 1746.

The pleasures of this capital soon made me forget my past sufferings, and blinded me even as to the future. I remained in a kind of lethargy, allowing the opportunities of being advantage-

ously employed in Russia or Spain to escape, in the hope that the court of France would make another attempt to re-establish the affairs of Prince Charles in Scotland; and it was not till the Prince was arrested in 1748, and sent out of the kingdom, in consequence of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that my eyes were opened. I was then forced to think of the means of subsistence, and to procure for myself some situation. The Marchioness Dowager of Mezieres and Lady Ogilvie, having strongly recommended me to the Marquis of Puysieulx, then secretary of state for foreign affairs, that minister immediately took me under his particular protection, and granted me, from the beginning of the year 1749, two thousand two hundred livres, out of the fund of forty thousand livres, which his majesty ordered to be distributed in annual pensions amongst the unfortunate Scots, who had had the good fortune to escape to France, with the loss of their estates, and to avoid death on a scaffold in England.

Seeing M. Puysieulx very much disposed to favour me, and imagining that I should recommend myself still more to his esteem and good graces by entering into the service, and endeavouring to render my youth useful, instead of living in idleness at Paris on the bounty of the King, which I had obtained through this minister, I entreated him to procure me a company of infantry at St. Domingo or Martinique. As all the Scots in the suite of Prince Charles, had been allowed by the Count d'Argenson, the same rank in the service of France which they held in that of the Prince in Scotland, and as I was the oldest captain in his army, my commission being dated the 21st of September, 1745, the Prince having given it to me on the very evening of the battle of Gladsmuir, immediately after our return to Pinky-house, where he passed the night, I had every reason to expect the

same treatment; more especially as the Marquis d'Eguille, the envoy from France with Prince Charles in Scotland, gave repeated assurances to every one, that, should our expedition terminate unfortunately, all the commissions of Prince Charles would be ratified by the King of France; and that all those who succeeded in escaping to France, should have the same rank in the service of that crown, that they enjoyed in the army of Prince Charles.

However, M. Rouillé, the new minister of the marine, who was better acquainted with the trade of India than with military affairs, instead of acceding to the demand of M. de Puysieulx, for a company for me, ordered an ensign's commission to be made out for me, in the troops detached from the marine to the island of Cape-Breton. This commission I refused at first with indignation and obstinacy, being unable to brook the idea of a retrogression so mortifying and revolting to an officer, who had always served with honour; and it was only in consequence of the reiterated orders of M. de Puysieulx, joined to his assurances that he would not leave me long in the degrading situation of a subaltern, after having served at the head of my company during the whole of the expedition of Prince Charles in Scotland, the progress of which, and the battles we gained against very superior numbers, had filled all Europe with astonishment; that I at length consented to accept it. I set out, therefore, immediately for Rochefort, with full confidence in the promises of M. de Puysieulx, to remain there in readiness for my embarkation for the island of Cape-Breton, the most wretched country in the universe.

I found three half-pay officers at Rochefort; viz. le Chevalier de Montalembert, the Chevalier de Trion his cousin, and M. de

Frene, who had also obtained employment at Quebec. Intimacies are soon formed amongst military men, and the same destination inspired us with sentiments of mutual friendship: I contracted this friendship the more readily, as they were all three of an excellent disposition and most agreeable companions. We were ordered to embark on board the Iphigenie, a merchant vessel, freighted for the king, and belonging to M. Michel Roderique, a ship-owner of Rochelle. We accordingly left Rochefort, and on our arrival at Rochelle, we found the crew of the Iphigenie in a state of mutiny, with the carpenter at their head, who insisted on making a declaration to the admiralty, that the ship was entirely rotten, and nowise in a condition to perform the voyage.

Roderique invited us to dinner, and whilst we were at table, he incessantly assured us, that his ship was in good condition; that, if he had himself occasion to go to Louisbourg, of which he was a native, he would embark in it with his family, in preference to any other ship in Rochelle; and that the ill repute of the Iphigenie arose from the jealousy of his brother ship-owners, who had seduced his crew, and excited them to mutiny. My comrades did not repose an entire confidence in the honied words of Roderique, but I was completely duped by him. Indeed, I could never have imagined that there existed on the earth a wretch so depraved, and so devoid of every feeling of humanity, as to expose three hundred people to destruction, for the sake of vile pelf. We had with us two hundred recruits on board, and there were, besides, a number of passengers, and the crew. Being myself convinced of the sincerity of Roderique, I had no great difficulty in gaining over my companions to my opinion, that the jealousy of the ship-owners had really given rise to disadvantageous reports respecting the Iphigenie; and having quieted

the mutiny of the sailors; we all embarked on the 28th of June, 1750; and the 29th, being St. Peter's day, we weighed anchor and set sail, with fine weather and a favourable wind.

The third day from our departure, after doubling Cape Finisterre, we became convinced, when too late, of the perfidy of Roderique, and of the folly we had committed in believing him. The Iphigenie, which, according to the declaration of the crew in the mutiny, drew twelve inches of water in an hour, in the roads of Rochelle, drew twenty-four inches in the same space of time when we were in the open sea; and M. Fremont, the master of the ship, being unable any longer to conceal from us its wretched state, demanded that we should come to an arrangement, in order that some of the soldiers might be continually pumping, and assisting him in the management of the vessel. As the crew only consisted of fourteen sailors in all, good and bad, they were insufficient for the duties of the ship, and M. de Montalembert, who was our commander, was obliged to employ sixteen soldiers, to take their turns along with the sailors at the pump, who were relieved every quarter of an hour.

Some time after, we had another fatal proof of the complete rottenness of our ship, in the loss of our mizen-mast, which fell upon the deck, and nearly carried away our main-mast in its fall. The socket, rotten like the rest of the ship, having given way, the end of the mizen-mast entered the cabin, by penetrating the boards. M. de Montalembert, who happened to be opposite at the time, miraculously escaped being crushed to death, by springing aside. It was fortunate for us that this accident happened at nine o'clock in the morning, in very fine weather, and when we had little wind, as this enabled the sailors in a short time to cut the mast and shrouds with the axe; for otherwise we should have

run the greatest risk of perishing immediately. All our hopes of escaping death, were in the arms of our soldiers, and in a continuation of good weather, as it was then summer. But, alas! our hopes were vain, as far as regarded the weather, for we afterwards experienced as violent gales as if it had been the middle of winter. A gust of wind, whilst we were off the Azores, carried away our top-masts and our sails, tearing the latter in shreds as if they had been sheets of paper; a heavy sea drowned our sheep and poultry, and deprived us of all our refreshments; and, to add to our misery, our water, which Roderique, in his atrocious and abominable avarice, had put into old wine-barrels, became altogether corrupted in less than five weeks after our departure, black as ink, stinking like the pestilence, so as to be totally unfit for use. But these were trifling evils, compared with our deplorable and alarming situation. Death was constantly staring us in the face, and the idea was constantly imprinted on our minds, that the Iphigenie would some day go to the bottom with us. When the wind was favourable, we durst only carry very little sail, lest we should lose our other two masts in the way we lost our mizen-mast. We were thus without any prospect of a speedy termination to our cruel distress and sufferings, and thoroughly convinced that they would be of long duration, and that we should at least be long in a state of suspense between life and death.

Having experienced nine different gales since the 29th of June, when we put to sea, Heaven reserved for us the tenth, a dreadful storm off the banks of Newfoundland: this was on the 10th of September. We had a dead calm during the whole of the day of the 9th; but at midnight the wind began to rise, and continued increasing till it became a most furious tempest. M. Fremont

came into the cabin at nine o'clock in the morning, to warn us to prepare for death. He told us that our only hopes of being saved, and not being immediately swallowed up by the waves, now depended on our offering up vows. He added that the crew had just made a vow to St. Nicholas, having promised to cause a grand mass to be performed at Louisbourg, if it should please God to deliver us from the imminent danger in which we were; and he invited us to join them in it, as the only means of preserving our existence. Sad and feeble resource! However, we each of us gave him a crown of six francs, to be added to the contribution of the sailors for this grand mass.*

I clambered up on deck to see the state in which we were, but my eyes could scarcely bear for a moment the terrific view of the ocean, which formed monstrous waves, like pointed and moving mountains, consisting of several gradations of hills: from their summits rose great spouts of foam, which assumed all the colours of the rainbow; they were so high that our vessel seemed to be in a valley at the foot of these mountains, every wave threatening us with destruction, and to precipitate us into the bottomless deep. It was a grand majestic spectacle of horror, which might have been beheld with admiration from the land. We were at the mercy of the storm, without sails, as we could carry none; the rolling was truly terrible, and the ship was laid so flat on her side by every wave, that her keel was frequently out of water.

* Having experienced violent gales in the Baltic, on my return from Russia, on board Mr. Walker's ship, where all the crew were English; the difference which I observed between the English and French sailors was this, that the English sailors swear and work at the same time to the very last, and as long as they can, keep their heads above water; whilst the French have more confidence in their vows than in their arms. It seems to me that a just medium would not be amiss.

The sailors attempted to put up the sail of distress to assist the ship; but it was immediately carried away by the wind, like a sheet of paper.

Having regained the cabin as fast as I could, though not without some difficulty and several bruises; I found M. du Frene striking his feet with great violence against the partition. "*Morbleu!*" said he to me, "is it not a hard case to perish in this manner, after having escaped in a hell of a fire, at the siege of Bergen-op-zoom, with the grenadiers of the regiment of Lowendahl?" M. de Montalembert quietly shed a torrent of tears; and the Chevalier de Trion, a young man about twenty years of age, who appeared very little affected with our dreadful situation, told me that he had made his peace before our departure from Rochefort. It would seem, as if the longer we live, the more unwilling we are to quit life. The contrasts of the different characters which the same event affected so very differently, would have been a noble subject for a painter. I was resigned to die, as I always had been in all my difficulties, at the time when I endeavoured to flee the scaffold; that is to say, submitting myself with patience to a fatal destiny which there are no means of avoiding sooner or later; for human nature shudders at destruction when we are in health, and in cool blood.

No man is willing to die when he can preserve his life without ignominy, and when it is not a burden to him. Virtue, valour, the love of duty, glory, and patriotism may lead men to brave death; but they preserve always, at the bottom of their hearts, that natural repugnance to it, which makes them tremble involuntarily when the fatal moment approaches. The most intrepid man will not here contradict me, if he is sincere. Outwardly, I had a great appearance of tranquillity; but my mind was, at the

same time, agitated and tormented with imagining what there was behind the curtain, which was so soon to be drawn. We were told that Fremont had fallen down dead; but it was only a fainting fit, which passed over in a quarter of an hour. It was the ambition of this foolish animal to command a ship, which had plunged us in this disaster; and he was as cowardly and faint-hearted in the hour of danger, as he was insolent and impertinent in good weather.

I passed the whole day in reading the Psalms of David, and plunged at the same time in reflections on a future existence, and on the immortality of the soul. I recalled to my remembrance what Wollaston says, which appeared to me the most satisfactory of all I had ever read, on a subject that no mortal can ever clear up. About three o'clock in the afternoon, a wave broke through the port-holes of the cabin, and inundated the Chevalier de Trion, who was lying on his bed: as he was soaked with the sea water, I invited him to lie down with me in the bed which had been assigned me at the entry of the cabin. We had now great difficulty in prevailing on our soldiers to continue at the pump; and indeed these poor wretches suffered very much, for every instant the waves broke over them with such violence, as almost to force them into the sea. The Chevalier de Trion made continual rounds between decks, to induce them to ascend, as the sergeants, at this critical moment, had lost all authority over them, and it was only by menaces and hard usage, that he could succeed with them. They would say to him, that, as destruction was inevitable, it was better to perish between decks than to be carried away by the waves, or to be dashed to pieces on deck. Several of our soldiers were wounded; the waves

breaking on deck with an astonishing force, which threw them frequently from one side of the ship to the other.

About ten o'clock in the evening, the carpenter, who was a droll fellow, and a complete harlequin, but very active and laborious when necessary, came to work near the door of my bed, where I was lying with the Chevalier de Trion. Having asked him if there was any thing new, he replied, "Oh! yes, gentlemen; great news, very great news, the fore-part of the ship has opened, and the water now enters by bucket-fulls; the soldiers having worked long at the pump, without being able to make head against it, the pump has at length broken, and a wave has passed over the deck, which has covered their clothes with sand; so, gentlemen, we shall soon be at the devil, and in less than an hour we shall all drink of the same cup." It is a curious circumstance that there are some characters capable of joking, even to the last moment of existence, whilst the approach of danger deprives others of all sensation, who appear dead, long before they really are so.

My conscience, that internal and concealed light, as a Chinese author expresses it, did not reproach me with the commission of any great crimes; but only with such faults, as the heat and giddiness of youth occasion through thoughtlessness; and my mind having been absorbed all day in the most serious reflections, I at length felt a drowsiness and inclination to sleep come on me, which I wished to encourage. I said to the Chevalier de Trion, that I should be very glad if I could pass the barrier between this and the other world when asleep, and that I was desirous of making the attempt. We then tenderly took leave of each other; and turning my face towards the boards, I immediately fell into a deep sleep, out of which I was never once awaked by the continual

passing in and out of the cabin of the Chevalier de Trion. I slept from half-past ten at night till seven in the morning; and when I awoke, I rather supposed myself in the other world than in this. The Chevalier de Trion immediately told me how fortunate I had been; that the whole night through they expected every moment the ship would go to the bottom; that I had thus escaped many painful sensations, which I must have experienced had I been awake; that they had bound the ship with cables to prevent it splitting open altogether; that as soon as the carpenter had mended the pump, the soldiers, who had worked the whole night through like galley-slaves, had succeeded in clearing the vessel of water; that the wind and sea were now greatly calmed; and that, for this time, we were thought out of danger. How narrow a space separates pain from pleasure! Very fine weather, with a favourable breeze succeeded, about ten o'clock in the morning, to this violent tempest, and immediately raised our drooping spirits, and obliterated from our minds our sufferings, which we usually forget more easily than our enjoyments.

We had frequently suspected that Fremont knew nothing of navigation; but at length we became perfectly satisfied of his ignorance, which might have cost us dear indeed. M. Lion, the second in command of the Iphigenie, told us that, by his journal, we were very near the coast of the island of Cape-Breton, although by Fremont's journal we were still two hundred leagues from it. The difference in their reckoning made us uneasy, and indeed it would have been very hard to have been shipwrecked upon the rocks, with which this isle is completely surrounded, the very moment after escaping from the tempest. I determined to pass the whole night on deck, and told my brother-officers, that as they had

watched over my safety while I slept profoundly the preceding night, I should now watch over theirs in my turn. We were all much more inclined to believe M. Lion than the other, and we begged him to remain on deck with me till day-break. It was a very fine starlight night, and though there was no moon, there was a brightness in the sky, the whole night through, like a twilight, which enabled us to see to a considerable distance. M. Lion placed a sailor at the ship's head, to remain continually on the lookout. Heavens! how agreeably were we surprised, when, about two o'clock in the morning of the 12th of September, he called out that he saw land. M. Lion and myself immediately sprang towards him, and in less than ten minutes we could distinctly see the coast at a distance of about three hundred toises from us. They immediately tacked about and stood to sea, whilst I ran down to acquaint my comrades with the good news, awaking them as agreeably as I had been myself awaked the morning before.

When day appeared, Fremont, who had already made a voyage to Louisbourg, pretended that he knew the land we saw perfectly well; that it was *L'Indienne*, a settlement of the island of Cape-Breton, sixteen leagues north of Louisbourg; and he immediately gave orders for steering southwards. As we had every reason to believe that we should reach Louisbourg in the course of the day, we dressed ourselves, and kept ourselves in readiness for going on shore; but at three o'clock in the afternoon, when we were at the mouth of a port, which Fremont took for that which we had so long and so ardently looked for, he hailed a boat, which passed near us, to know if this was not the port of Louisbourg. He was answered by a demand to

know the name of the ignorant fool in the command of a ship, who sought Louisbourg in the port of Thoulouse, a settlement twenty leagues to the south of it. We thus ascertained, when, too late, that it was the port of Louisbourg we had seen in the morning, but that a cruel fatality had blindfolded Fremont. This disappointment vexed us exceedingly. I urged M. de Montalembert strongly to land at port Thoulouse with our detachment, to proceed to Louisbourg by land; but Fremont frightened him by declaring, that if he took this step he should be responsible for the cargo. We were, however, well entitled to have done so, on account of the bad state of the ship, and the dangers to which we should have been exposed, had we been driven out to sea by a contrary wind.

Having had fine weather the whole night, and a light favourable breeze, we entered the port of Louisbourg next morning, the 13th of September, to the great astonishment of all the inhabitants of this town, who supposed us to have perished at sea; for a small vessel which left Rochelle at the same time with us, and on board of which were Madame du Hagette, and two officers of the colony, had performed the passage in fifty days, while ours had taken up seventy-six days, and had reported the wretched state of our ship. The quays were crowded with people, who came to congratulate us on our happy deliverance, and who viewed the ruinous state of the Iphigenie with surprise and admiration. Next day the crew of our vessel made a procession, with no other covering on their bodies than their shirts, to the church, where a grand mass was performed; in the getting up of which, no money was spared, agreeably to their vows during the tempest. It was wished to send back the Iphigenie to France;

but the crew having lodged a complaint with the admiralty, an inspection took place, and she was condemned to be broken up immediately.*

As to Fremont, who had never ceased annoying us with his impertinence during the whole voyage, as soon as he landed I made him submit to a very different sort of procession, along the quay, under the blows of a cudgel, to the great amusement of all the officers of the island of Quebec; but, above all, to the great satisfaction of my companions during the voyage, who had been daily exposed with myself to his stupidity and insolence. It was a truly laughable scene. He at first drew his sword, but either fearing that I should break the blade with my cudgel, which was both stout and heavy, or fearing that he might receive the blows on his face; every time I lifted my arm, he presented his shoulders with the best possible grace, to receive the blows, the effects of which he must certainly have felt for a long time. I have always found cowardice and impertinence inseparably united in the same person; for the truly brave man is inoffensive, and never insults any one, however violent he may be, when personally injured. M. l'Oppinot, assistant major of Louisbourg, who witnessed the beginning of this scene, withdrew,

* We were not long at Louisbourg, before we learned the powerful protection of the Iphigenie. Roderique was in partnership with M. Prevôt, the principal commissary at the island of Quebec, and M. Prevot again was in partnership with M. de la Porte, the principal clerk in the Bureau de la Marine. It was not therefore astonishing, that the inspectors at Rochefort shut their eyes as to the state of the vessels taken up for the King; and the unfortunate sailors would have been obliged to return to France, in this rotten ship, if the officers of the admiralty had not had more probity and humanity than the proprietors; who, if the Iphigenie had gone to the bottom of the sea, would have lost nothing, as the ship and cargo were insured at their full value, and perhaps for more. What monsters the love of gain creates!

that he might leave us at full liberty; and only returned to order me to desist, when he thought Fremont had had a sufficiency of blows. I bestowed them with the more force and good will, as he was the cause of all the trouble and dangers to which we had been exposed during this long and painful voyage, by concealing from us, at Rochelle, the miserable state of his ship, that was so completely rotten, that the beams crumbled on being touched by the finger.

Before I had staid a year at Louisbourg, I was thoroughly convinced of the folly I had committed in accepting an ensign's commission, in conformity to the orders of M. de Puysieulx, and in hopes of a continuation of his protection. When the dispatches of the court arrived, there was not the least mention of my advancement, and M. de Puysieulx having quitted the foreign department, his successor M. de St. Contest immediately struck out my name from the list of Scotsmen, in the suite of Prince Charles, who received pensions from his majesty. How strange the caprices of fortune! Having been attached to the artillery with my company, during the expedition in Scotland, as a fixed escort, though my commission of captain made no mention of that destination, Prince Charles, in the list which he delivered to the court of France, gave me the title of captain of artillery. I received twelve hundred livres in 1746; my pension was augmented in 1749, to two thousand and odd hundred livres; and now, in 1751, I found myself at Louisbourg, degraded to the rank of ensign, from the ignorance of M. Rouillé in military affairs. I was the only individual of all the Scots officers subjected to this mortification. M. Rouillé sent to Cape-Breton officers without experience, to fill the vacant companies and lieutenancies, whilst he refused to do me the justice of ratifying

my commission of captain under Prince Charles Edward,—a ratification which the Count d'Argenson had granted to all my countrymen; although I had no more than four hundred and eighty livres per annum of pay, a sum quite insufficient to pay my board in the most wretched public-house of Louisbourg.

Fortune blinds the world in a singular manner, and impels us, in spite of ourselves, towards the fate that she destines for us. If I have not succeeded in procuring a sufficiency for the evening of my life, I cannot accuse myself of any error of judgment in the means which I employed to attain that object; for, when I recall the whole of my past life to my remembrance, I do not see how I could have acted otherwise than I have done: and, if it were to begin again, I should yield to the same illusions, under the impression of my following the most rational course. Man can only judge and act from the appearances which seem most likely to conduct him to the objects he has in view; and if, through strange and unaccountable effects, which he could not foresee, the course which he takes, on the apparent probability of its being the best, turns out to be quite the contrary, what else can he do than consider himself as a grain of sand driven about by chance, that unjust tyrant, who governs and disposes of all our actions according to his caprice? All the misery which must now necessarily accompany me to the grave, as it is almost out of the power of fortune to afford me relief at my time of life, dates its commencement from the moment I consented to accept the commission of ensign, in 1750, on the repeated assurances of M. le Puysieulx, that he would certainly procure me a company without delay. M. Rouillé was then, according to all appearances, the only minister in any court of Europe, who would have taken it upon him to dishonour the commission of Prince

Charles, by degrading, in this manner, an officer in his army in Scotland. How could I refuse to confide in the promises of M. de Puysieulx, who had already given me so many convincing proofs of his esteem and favourable disposition? He had allowed me two thousand two hundred livres from the funds, granted to the Scots in 1749; and he was so much disposed to favour me, that if I had asked a permanent pension on this fund, of 1500 livres, it would have been at once granted to me. Was it not natural to suppose, that the desire I manifested of rendering my youth useful to the King and the state, rather merited recompense than punishment? Is it as meritorious in a young man to pass his time at Paris in effeminacy and pleasure, which I, with my pension on the Scots' list, might have done, as to embrace so arduous an employment as that of an officer who discharges his duty conscientiously, continually exposed to dangers of every kind, the body worn out with excessive fatigue, and the constitution ruined by bad food, with a thousand other inconveniencies which necessarily attend the severe profession of arms? Could I ever imagine that I should see in the service of France cowards who dishonour the name of officer, and whose only service has consisted in pillaging and robbing the King, and enriching themselves at the public expense, received with open arms in the government offices of Versailles; while, at the same time, a son of a pastry-cook, and the son of a menial of the wardrobe*, would be the channels of introduction to officers who had passed their lives in disinterested service, who had been continually occupied with the good of the army, and with the wish to render themselves useful? I own that I could never have formed a just

* Messieurs Berranger and Coutereau.

idea of the abuses in the service in France, had I not experienced them; having always supposed that honour, good conduct, and great knowledge of the military art were the only means of arriving at distinction, in every service in the world.

M. des Herbiers having succeeded in obtaining from the court his recall, the *Heureux*, commanded by the Chevalier de Caumont, was sent to Louisbourg, with the Count de Raimond, to succeed him in the government of Quebec, and bring him back to France. Seeing the forgetfulness and negligence of my protectors in procuring me suitable promotion, and the impossibility of my living at Louisbourg on four hundred and eighty livres a year, this worthy and respectable gentleman felt for my situation. In his friendship for me, he had obtained from the new governor permission for me to return to Europe with him in the Heureux; he succeeded, at the same time, in procuring the consent of M. de Caumont to my coming on board ten or twelve days before our departure, that I might make up for the bad cheer to which I had been subjected for a year during my stay at Louisbourg. Our fare, in winter, consisted solely of salted cod, with dried pease and bacon; and, in summer, of fresh fish with rancid salt-butter and bad oil. I was now familiarised to an uninterrupted train of misfortunes, chequered by no ray of prosperity. Two hours after I was on board, the moment we were sitting down to supper, our ship was nearly blown up; and, had there been the least wind, we must have inevitably perished. A fire broke out in a vessel close to the Heureux, loaded with rum and oil; and, in an instant, it was wholly in flames. All the boats in the harbour came immediately with grappling irons, to draw off the vessel on fire, and strand it in such a way as to prevent its communicating the fire

to the rest of the shipping; and it was with the utmost difficulty this object was effected. This ship passed very near to us. If the grappling-irons had given way we should all have been ruined. It is impossible to conceive the disorder that prevailed on board our ship during the alarm: some called out to cut the cable; others to veer it; a hundred voices were heard giving different orders at the same time. Nothing was done; and the crew did not know whom to obey. If I were in the command of a vessel in any pressing danger, with a pair of pistols before me, I should enforce silence; so that the orders of the captain might be heard and executed. On returning to table, as soon as the danger was over, the dear and worthy M. des Herbiers told us, that during the catastrophe he could not help thinking continually of me, and of my adverse fate in embarking just in time to meet destruction.

We left Louisbourg in the month of August, 1751, and arrived, in fifty days, in the roads of Rochelle; having only experienced one violent gale on the passage, which lasted 48 hours, and alarmed the officers of the ship very much; but as it was much inferior to the most of the gales to which I had been exposed, the preceding year, on board the Iphigenie, and as the vessel was in an excellent state, and capable of resisting, I suffered no other uneasiness, than that occasioned by the interruption to our good cheer; for, whilst it lasted, no cooking could take place, and we were reduced to ham with biscuit, instead of new bread. There were twenty officers on board the Heureux, which was a ship of sixty-four guns. One of these officers, called Bordet, was an excellent sailor, but a great drunkard, and always intoxicated as early as seven o'clock in the morning. His brother-officers had so much deference for him, and so much

confidence in his nautical skill, that they made him go on deck, and take the command during the storm, where, being unable to stand firmly on his legs, they placed him in an arm-chair, from which he gave his orders, like an emperor upon his throne.

The magnificence of the table on board a French man-of-war is incredible. Here we meet with all the elegance which it is possible to display on shore. The captains of the English navy can never imitate this; for, on receiving sailing orders from the Admiralty, (which receives a regular return every day, of the state of the vessels in all the ports of the kingdom,) they must put to sea with the first favourable wind, and cannot remain two or three weeks in port to lay in provisions for the table of the officers, as the French vessels sometimes do. The English captains are often obliged to put up with salt beef and bacon, like the sailors; with this difference only, that the officers are allowed to have the choice of the pieces. The utmost care is, indeed, taken by the Commissioners of the Admiralty that all the provisions for the navy be of a good quality, and in good condition.

On my arrival at Paris I made every endeavour to get myself replaced on the list of those Scots, in the suite of Prince Charles, who received gratifications from His Majesty; feeling as I then did the egregious folly I had committed in renouncing it. But M. de St. Contest always replied, to all my protectors, "that they were endeavouring to ruin a young man who might make his way in the army." Seeing all my endeavours in this respect unavailing, I now exerted myself to get a company, and M. Rouillé was warmly solicited in my favour, by M. de Puysieulx, the Prince Constantin de Rohan, now cardinal, the Prince de Montauban his brother, Lord Thomond, and Lord Marischal, the friend of my uncle in Russia, and then in Paris in quality of

ambassador of the King of Prussia. If I had at that time had as perfect a knowledge of the government offices as I have since acquired by experience, I should have been more successful with much less protection; but I was then unacquainted with the omnipotence of the clerks, the crooked paths which it was necessary to tread in order to arrive at any object, and the irresistible influence of petticoats, which force open all the barriers to fortune. Though I am now acquainted with this marvellous key for opening a door to the reward of merit and demerit, I have never made use of it. M. Rouillé gave my friends every possible assurance that their demand in my favour would be complied with; and M. de la Porte assured me, at the same time, that I should find my commission at Louisbourg, on my arrival there. This minister sent me an order, towards the end of May, to repair to Rochefort; and M. de St. Contest having given me a gratification to defray, in part, the expenses of my journey, I immediately left Paris, not indeed confiding in their promises, for I had received as many the year before, and, when once deceived, I seldom bestow my confidence in the same quarter a second time; but I saw no other course open to me, than that of returning to Louisbourg. If I had been in possession of sufficient funds, I should undoubtedly have then quitted France, and endeavoured to obtain employment in some other service; but the want of money forges chains that cannot possibly be broken, and binds for ever the unfortunate man to his wretched condition. This want forms the certain and infallible means of which fortune avails herself to crush and immolate her victims.

I embarked at Rochelle towards the end of June, 1752, on board the Sultane, a merchant ship of three hundred tons, freighted for the king, and commanded by M. Roxalle, a man of

abilities and education, extremely obliging, and every way the reverse of Fremont. There were three other passengers on board, viz. M. Pensence, a captain of Cape-Breton; M. Lery, an officer of Canada, and M. de Gaville, son of the intendant of Rouen, who was placed at Louisbourg, having been formerly in the French guards. We had a very long and wearisome passage, on account of the bad weather and contrary winds, which prevailed almost continually and without interruption. We were eighty days at sea. I thought it impossible for the elements to form a more terrible tempest than what we had experienced in the Iphigenie on the 10th of September, 1750; but we encountered a still more furious storm on the 2d of September, 1752, on board the Sultane. M. Roxalle, who had passed forty years of his life at sea, had never seen its equal; and it gave him such a distaste to a sea-life that he quitted it upon his return to Rochelle. If this tempest had taken place when I was on board the Iphigenie, such a rotten ship could not have resisted it for a moment; but the Sultane was a new vessel, which had only made one voyage to the coast of Guinea.

As the description of this tempest, which M. Roxalle entered in his log book, appeared to me curious, I took a copy of it, which is as follows: "From Friday at noon, to Saturday at noon, 2d Sept. 1752, the wind S. S. E. to S. W., till eight o'clock in the evening; steered to W. N. W. two degrees west; in this route making sixteen leagues. Then the wind to the S. W. and augmenting, we took in all our sails, and lay to, with our mizen, having taken down our mizen yard. The wind continues always to increase, with a violence beyond expression, the sea horribly heaving, and in a state of corruscation — passing over us it seemed all on fire. — I never in my life witnessed such dreadful

weather, nor such an appearance of danger. We have always, by the aid and assistance of the Lord, kept ourselves up, our vessel standing it as well as could be hoped for in such a terrible storm, and not daring to venture under the mizen for fear of being swallowed up by the sea.

" At ten o'clock the violence of the gale undid our great sail to the wind. God be thanked we had time to secure it with earings. It is much torn, but we have saved it. We have brought the yard to the socket.

" An hour and a half after midnight the wind carried away our mizen. It began to fail at the point of the sheet. The rest followed. Nothing of it remained but the bolt ropes.

" The jib, middle jib, and the top-gallant sail had the same fate — though they were very light, the violence of the wind undid them and carried them away, and the mizen top-sail yard broke by the middle. When this last sail gave way it cruelly affected our mizen-mast. I wished to cut it, but when the axe was already raised, the wind having carried off the whole of the sail, by the grace of God we preserved our mast.

" At three o'clock a gale drove in the starboard window of the great cabin, which let in a great deal of water, which fell on M. de J * * * *, who was in bed there.

" At four o'clock our tiller broke; we put a capstern bar at the head of the helm in the great cabin to hold it.

" At six o'clock in the morning the wind became less terrible, and shortly afterwards it gave way. At present (noon), we hope that the gale is over; but we can only attribute our safety in the imminent peril in which we were, to the goodness and mercy of God. May he in his abundant grace continue to have us in his holy keeping.

" The half of our poultry were drowned in their cages."

Being in bed in the great cabin, where there was no light, I heard, about midnight, the voice of M. Pensence, who, in falling, exclaimed that he had killed himself. I called to him several times, and receiving no answer, I thought him either dead or in a swoon. As his servant could give him no assistance, having disabled himself a little before by a similar fall, I sprang from my bed, got a lantern, in order to take him up; but I was no sooner in a situation to have a sight of the deck, than a wave burst over my head, which made me drink salt-water in abundance. I returned to the great cabin as well as I could, and in a great rage; and having changed my linen and clothes, I threw myself down upon my bed, fully determined, if Pensence should break his neck a thousand times, not to stir again. He was an amiable Gascon, and so droll that his exclamations made me sometimes laugh, notwithstanding our horrible situation. He had come to France the year before, to obtain the cross of Saint Louis, with the intention of retiring from the service, and living in his native place, and the court had bestowed this favour on him on condition of his return to Louisbourg, and receiving it there. During the danger, Pensence continually repeated, "Accursed and execrable cross! —If I had foreseen the horrible position in which we now are, all the orders of Europe should not have tempted me to embark.—What had I to do with this miserable cross? Could not I have lived quietly and happily in Gascony without it?" In short, as long as the tempest endured, we heard nothing but the same exclamations and the same regrets. The second ducking, which I received through the windows of the great cabin, distressed me beyond measure, for I was obliged to remain with my clothes wet. The wave having fallen on my

trunk, and at the same time on my bed, every article I had was as much wet with the sea water, as the clothes upon my back. A petty officer gave me his bed; but it was destined that I should be no where at my ease during the tempest. Part of every wave, which passed over the deck, entered through an opening into the bed, like a torrent, and fell on my legs. However we arrived at Louisbourg on the 14th of September. If it had not been for the weather, our passage would have been agreeable enough, from the great quantity of provisions and refreshments of every kind with which we had been supplied, by M. Pascaut, the ship-owner, a very different man from the avaricious wretch, Roderique, who, no doubt imagining that the Iphigenie was to go to the bottom, thought it useless to supply us with any thing to render us comfortable on our passage.

The bad climate of Louisbourg, where the sun is sometimes not visible for a whole month; the extreme wretchedness which prevailed there, as we could not have a morsel of fresh meat at any price; the society of the women of the country, very amiable no doubt, but who had cards continually in their hands, so that my pay would not allow me to be daily of their parties; all contributed to inspire me with a taste for reading and retirement, and a philosophic mode of life. I seldom quitted my chamber except to do my duty, which I performed with the most scrupulous exactness, or to go a fishing for trouts once or twice a week, with my servant St. Julien, who was an excellent Jack of all trades, for the purpose of supplying my table, when we brought home from eight to ten dozen of trouts, which we caught with the line in the course of a couple of hours; the streams in the neighbourhood abounding in fish. Puysegur, Polybius, with the commentaries of Folard, Feuquiere, Vegetius, the Commentaries of Cesar, Turenne, Montecuculi, the Roman

History, Prince Eugene, Josephus, Vauban, and other books of the same kind, served to kill the time, and to withdraw my attention from my situation; for I had not obtained my advancement, but only the office of interpreter of the King, which produced me annually four hundred livres of increased pay; and to dissipate the gloomy ideas which, otherwise, would have thrown me into despair.

I had a little garden before the windows of my apartment, which St. Julien had brought into cultivation, and which served me as a place of recreation, when I was tired with reading, or when my eyes were fatigued. I enjoyed a real and complete satisfaction from the esteem and friendship of all my comrades, which it was no easy matter to retain; for the corps of the island of Cape-Breton, composed of more than a hundred officers, was divided into three factions; those who had been longest in the island, those who had come from Canada, and the half-pay officers from France, placed on service at Louisbourg. All the three factions detested one another, and were continually at variance. On my joining the corps, I declared that I would not enter into their cabals; that I would not interfere in any manner with their disputes, nor share their animosities; that I should choose my friends wherever I might find them to my taste; and that standing alone, and being of no party, I should defend myself against all those who might insult me, or endeavour to fasten a quarrel on me. Thus by an exact neutrality, which I always strictly observed, I had the good will of every body, and listened to the horrible accusations which these officers were every day repeating to me against each other, without ever committing myself; that is, I listened to them without ever returning any answer.

The Count de Raimond, who gave me daily marks of his esteem and favour, having demanded my promotion, I received a lieutenancy in 1754; by which, with my office of interpreter, I enjoyed a larger income than the captains; but I was by no means pleased with my situation. Convinced of the folly of placing any reliance on promises, I formed the resolution of returning to France that year, for the purpose of either obtaining a company, or endeavouring to obtain employment in some other service. I considered this voyage the more indispensable, as I was on bad terms with the principal commissary ever since the first year of my arrival at Louisbourg; who, by means of his partners in commerce, was all-powerful in the *bureau* of the marine, and always supported, in opposition to the governors, M. des Herbiers, and M. de Raimond, who incessantly, but fruitlessly complained to the court of his thefts from the magazines, and other infamous acts. He was a complete knave; proud and vain as a peacock, and of the most obscure origin. He had a beautiful and amiable wife, of whom he was so jealous that even her shadow filled him with alarm. He was always on the look-out for occasions to injure me and to give me pain. His attempts were, however, unavailing at Louisbourg; for by discharging my duty with the utmost exactness, I always retained the esteem and friendship of my superiors. Indeed the wretchedness of my situation could not easily be augmented, buffeted as I was by fortune, in addition to my sufferings from the miserable climate, and the badness of the food. Being thus in extreme misery, I had the melancholy satisfaction of reflecting that my situation could not become worse.* At length the capture of Louisbourg

* The Sieur Jacques Prevost, was so abhorred, not only by all the officers of the corps of the island of Cape Breton but also by the regiments of Artois and Burgundy,

in 1758, released me from a purgatory, in which I was subject to evils of every kind. Not wishing to be the prisoner of the same regiments of Lee, Warburton, and Lascelles, who had been our prisoners in Scotland, at the battle of Gladsmuir, in 1745, after the capitulation of the town, I made my escape to Nova Scotia, and thence into Canada.

Hostilities having commenced in Nova Scotia in 1754, when I was upon the point of setting out for Europe, it did not appear proper that I should absent myself at such a critical period: I therefore resolved to continue where I was, hoping, by zeal and services, to obtain the advancement, which I had not been able to effect, from the negligence and feeble efforts of my protectors

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that no officer, from the commandant down to the ensign, ever entered his door. When the English fleet appeared before Louisbourg in 1757, all the troops instantly marched out to line the entrenchments *des Ances*, in the Bay of Gabarus, in order to oppose their landing. Mr. Guerin our surgeon-general having given to M. de St. Julien, the senior officer in command, a list of the quantity of lint, brandy, and other things necessary for the wounded; Prevost, in answer to the application of M. de St. Julien, told him "that there were none of the articles in question in the King's magazines; that if the English should force our entrenchments, it was their business to take care of our wounded; and if we repulsed the English, we should have time to attend to them." M. de St. Julien immediately carried this list with a complaint to M. de Bois de la Mothe, who instantly landed at nine o'clock in the evening, proceeded straight to the house of Prevost, and threatened to put him in irons, and send him off to France, if all the articles contained in the list were not supplied the following morning. They were accordingly supplied, to the great chagrin of this inhuman monster, who, in his hatred to the officers, wished that brave men should perish for want of assistance. He shed tears of rage. He contrived to make himself equally despised and detested by all the naval officers; and the Prince de Listenois always treated him as one of the refuse of the earth. — *Author.*

who were certainly powerful enough to have improved my condition, had they chosen to exert themselves in my favour, as I was led to expect they would, from their promises, of which, in my credulity, I was the dupe.

Having obtained a boat with fifty Canadians at Miramichi, in Nova Scotia, to conduct to Quebec fourteen English prisoners, who were land-officers, and captains of merchants' ships, I set out with them without delay. On entering the gulph of St. Laurence we perceived the English squadron, which instantly gave chace to us; and we only escaped their frigates, by running into one of the little ports, of which there are a great many along that coast. It was a fortunate discovery; for I found M. de l'Echaffaud at the mouth of the river, with five ships of the line, which he commanded, ready to sail for Europe, who, from not knowing that there was an English fleet in the gulph, might have fallen into their hands. To avoid them he passed through the straits of Belle Isle.

I was very favourably received in Canada, particularly by M. de Levis and M. de Montcalm, who soon honoured me with their esteem, confidence, and favour, in a very distinguished manner; and M. Bigot, the intendant, who was in every thing the opposite of Prevost, and who took a pleasure in relieving the wants, and diminishing the sufferings of the army, gave me from the stores a complete dress; for I was quite naked, having left my trunk at Louisbourg, and having only taken with me a couple of shirts in my pockets. M. de Levis took me for his aide-de-camp, in the beginning of the campaign of 1759; and not having a sufficient number of engineers for the immense space which our camp occupied at Quebec, with a front of about two leagues, to fortify from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorency, I under-

took to plan and conduct the entrenchments, redoubt, and battery on the left of our camp where M. de Levis commanded, on condition that I should do so in my own way, and that the engineers should not interfere with me. My self-love was greatly flattered when the English, on the 31st of July, landed and attacked the works which I had constructed, and were repulsed with the loss of five hundred men. I was charged at the same time with the examination of the prisoners and deserters, and with translating their depositions into French. My occupations were so multiplied that I scarcely had an hour's sleep in the four and twenty. As it was impossible for M. de Levis to furnish me with bed-clothes, mattrass, or paillasse, having left my own at Carillon, I was obliged to sleep every night in my clothes, in his room, on chairs or on boards; having never taken off my clothes during the whole campaign, except to change my linen, and seldom taken off my boots, except to change my stockings.

Every morning I was exposed to the guns and musketry of the enemy, in visiting our advanced posts with M. de Levis. The day was passed in the same manner in carrying his orders, or in superintending my four hundred labourers; and the night was spent either in replying to the messages, which were continually arriving, when M. de Levis slept, as I allowed him to sleep, unless something of great importance occurred, or in writing depositions and orders. Every body told me that I must have a constitution of iron to stand so much fatigue; but I had three powerful motives to support me, and enable me to bear up against such excessive fatigue: first, my ambition to rise in the army, by rendering myself useful in the King's service; secondly, my friendship and attachment to M. de Levis personally; and lastly, the uncertainty as to my fate, if I should be taken by the English,

several regiments of their army having been our prisoners in Scotland, in 1745; so that I looked on the preservation of the colony as the preservation of my own existence. Pecuniary motives had no influence with me; for I not only constantly refused the contract for the fascines, *saucissons*, and gabions, by which another officer gained twenty or thirty thousand livres; but I always sent the serjeants, who acted under me as overseers, to receive payment from the intendant, agreeably to the statement given in, with orders to distribute, immediately, the money themselves to the workmen. I saved for the king the proportion of wages corresponding to the half-days, and even the quarter-days of those who were absent at the calling over the names, which I did four times a-day. This amounted to a considerable sum, which I might have appropriated to myself according to the custom of the country at that time, if I had been destitute of probity, rectitude, and delicacy; for, of four hundred workmen, whom I employed at twenty sols a-day, there were sometimes one hundred absent at the calling over the roll.

M. de Levis was sent, in the beginning of August, to take the command at Montreal, on a false report, that a body of English troops were attempting to penetrate through the upper country; and my portmanteau had already been sent off with his baggage, when M. de Montcalm waited on him, the moment we were setting out, to beg of him to leave me behind, on account of the knowledge I had of all our posts at the fall of Montmorency, and our places of defence in that quarter. M. de Levis gave his consent; and, as I loved him with the most sincere affection, I quitted him with the greatest regret, and with tears in my eyes, desiring ardently to finish the campaign with him. I

accompanied him till we overtook the baggage, in order to get back my portmanteau; and, having passed the night with him, I returned next day to M. de Montcalm, to continue my functions of aide-de-camp with him. That great man, worthy of a better fate, told me that he was very sensible of the sacrifice I had made in quitting M. de Levis; but that I should have no cause to repent of it. And I must say that, on all occasions, he showed as much kindness and affection to me as if I had been his own son. But his premature death gave me great cause to regret the change; for I should not, otherwise, have known, as I did, the whole extent of his extraordinary merit, nor had occasion to lament his loss my whole life.

The death of M. de Montcalm, who was killed at the battle of Quebec, on the 13th of September, 1759, where my usual destiny precipitated me fruitlessly into a tremendous fire, to extricate me afterwards when on the point of sharing his fate, having put an end to the campaign of 1759 sooner than we had reason to expect, I resolved to return to France, with Mr. Cannon, in the latter end of the season. This voyage was absolutely essential to me, particularly as I was the oldest lieutenant of the corps of Canada, which enjoyed a rotation with that of the island of Cape Breton, by my commission of 1754; and as there were three companies vacant in the troops of that colony, I was justly entitled, from my services, to expect one of them. But the Marquis de Vaudreuil absolutely refused to give me leave of absence, notwithstanding the urgent application of M. de Levis for that purpose; dreading, probably, that I should give a true account to the court of the particulars of that campaign, which irrevocably decided the fate of Canada. However, he gave me his word of honour that he would do me justice, and that I should have a

company; but as I still insisted in my demand for permission to return to France, he told me that if I teased him I should get nothing. At length, in 1760, the list of promotions arrived, when I found the companies disposed of to three officers younger than myself by several years, and without merit in their profession. One of the three was a son of a menial of the King's wardrobe, and of course enjoyed the protection of the heads of the public offices. What a service that of France is for a foreigner!

During the negociations at Montreal for the general surrender of the colony by capitulation, I was far from being at my ease there, from my uncertainty of the treatment I should receive from the English; and, as I could place no reliance on the Marquis de Vaudreuil, it was high time for me to extricate myself from this awkward situation in the best way I could; for I was now in as embarrassing and ticklish a position as that in which I was after the battle of Culloden. Mr. Young, colonel of the royal American regiment, happened to be at Montreal, having been taken prisoner at the battle, which M. de Levis had gained in the spring, near Quebec. He was cousin-german of my brother-in-law Rollo, and a person of much consideration in the English army, on account of his merit, wit, talents, and amiable disposition: all my hopes of being able to escape the sad fate that menaced me were centered in him. I went to sup with him whilst the British and French generals were negociating the terms of the capitulation; and Mr. Mills, aide-de-camp of General Amherst, and two other English officers, who were waiting for M. de Vaudreuil's answer to the propositions of General Amherst, also came to sup with Colonel Young. I was greatly disconcerted during the supper; for M. de Levis having given me the name of Chevalier de la Montagne, whilst Mr.

Young called me always La Montagne, the Misses Erie, daughters of the merchant in whose house he was boarded, gave me every moment my real name. This was so often repeated, that I perceived it was remarked by the English officers, upon which I made a sign to Mr. Young, that I wished to speak to him in private. On our retiring to a corner of the room, I told him that it seemed to me essentially necessary to confide my secret to Mr. Mills; and Mr. Young being of the same opinion immediately asked him to join us. I told him frankly my situation; that I had been with Prince Charles in Scotland, and I begged him to tell me what he thought I might expect from General Amherst. Mr. Young informed him, at the same time, of our alliance; of the warm interest he took in my safety; recommended me particularly to his kind offices with the General, and expressed a wish that he would sound his dispositions with respect to me, in order to make us acquainted with them next morning. The aide-de-camp replied, that General Amherst was of so singular a character, that no person could ever discover his sentiments, and that it would be better to say nothing to him on the subject, particularly as he would only remain a few days at Montreal, and that General Murray, who would have the command on his departure, was more tractable. He added, that if the General should be inclined to adopt a violent course against me, he would know it immediately; and he gave us his word of honour, that, in that case, I should have notice of it in time to enable me to escape into the woods.

I experienced a terrible alarm some days after the English had been in possession of the town. About seven o'clock in the morning there was a violent knocking at my room door, and when I opened it, I was surprised to see a tall young man, in the Eng-

lish uniform, about six feet high *, who, pronouncing my name, asked if he had the honour to speak to that person? Although I conceived that he was sent with a detachment to arrest me, yet, seeing no possibility of escape, I replied that I was the person in question; and asked him, at the same time, the object of his visit. He told me, that he was my near relation, of the same name, son of Lady Girthead, whom I had seen on entering into England with the army of Prince Charles; that he was captain of artillery; and that, as he had to convey his gunners to Quebec by water almost immediately, he had come to offer me his services, and to request me to embark with him in one of his artillery-boats, where I would not be recognised; and to remain with him in a house which he had furnished at Beauport, near Quebec, where he lived with a mistress, till our troops should embark on board the transports for France. I replied, that I felt, as I ought, extremely obliged to him for his offer, but that I would not, for any consideration in the world, involve him rashly in an affair of so much danger; and I advised him to wait immediately on General Murray, Amherst being now gone, and to tell him frankly that he had found at Montreal a near relation, who had been in the rebellion in Scotland, and was now in the service of France; and that he had a great desire to show a kindness to him, by taking him home to his house at Beauport; but that he did not wish to do so without his permission, and that he wished to have his advice in what manner he should act in this case. He immediately proceeded to General Murray's, and returned in a couple of hours to tell me, that General Murray had informed him, that he, in common with the whole English army, had long

* French measure.

known that I was in Canada; that I might remain tranquilly at Beauport, without any apprehension from him; that if I did not seek him he would not seek me; and that he sent me his compliments. Having thus concluded a separate capitulation for myself, of a very favourable nature, I immediately left Montreal for Beauport, where I passed three weeks in the most agreeable manner, waiting for the embarkation of our troops. The whole time was spent in entertainments with numerous parties of English officers, each of whom had his mistress. They gave entertainments by turns; sometimes they were in my relation's house, and sometimes in the houses of the other officers, and I was always one of the party. These officers shewed me every possible kindness and civility, taking care always to call me M. de la Montagne, though they knew very well my history, and no one ever appearing surprised that I spoke their language so well. I had every reason to be pleased with their conduct towards me.

An English officer asked me, one day, the name of the general-officer, mounted upon a black horse, who had reconnoitred their army, immediately after our defeat on the 13th of September of the preceding year? He added, that they aimed at his horse to dismount him, and take him prisoner; and that the horse must have been invulnerable to escape the thousands of musket shots which were fired at him from all quarters. I answered, that I was the person in question; that chance had conducted me there, without my having had any desire or ambition of receiving such a salutation, which, in fact, was worthy of a general-officer; but that their soldiers had not obeyed their orders, for, on the discharge which they had aimed at me in the brushwood, I felt the wind of the balls which passed me as high as my head, as if a handful of peas had been thrown in my face; and I

showed him my coat where a part of the cloth had been carried away on the shoulder. As the English had a higher opinion of the regiments of France than of the troops of the colony, I embarked on board the transport destined for the regiment of royal Roussillon, with my friend M. de Poularies, who entered me on the list of officers of that regiment; and we left Quebec on the 16th of October, with all the other transports with which the English had supplied us, according to the capitulation, for our conveyance to France.

Before we left the river St. Laurence, we perceived that our ship was old, rotten, and every way resembling the Iphigenie. However, we entertained a hope of being able to keep up with the fleet, and of receiving assistance in case of exigency; but in the course of three days, on our getting out of the gulph, we found ourselves alone and abandoned to Providence; for, as we could not sail so fast as the others, they left us immediately behind. On All-saints day and Martinmas day we experienced two dreadful gales off the Azores. Our ship sprung such a leak that she must have gone to the bottom, had not one of the sailors fastened a rope round his body and plunged into the sea, with a large quantity of tallow in his hand to stop it, till the weather permitted the carpenters to work. The vessel having opened in the same manner as the Iphigenie, it was fastened also by a cable. After experiencing these gales, we fell in with a vessel of our fleet, having on board M. de Mouy, M. Druillon, and some other officers of Canada; and having told them the wretched condition of our ship, and the danger to which we were exposed, expecting every moment to go to the bottom, we earnestly begged them not to quit us. We remained together for three days, till another gale of wind separ-

ated us. At length we arrived in the roads of the isle of Ré, in the evening of the 3d of December, where we immediately anchored, and a pilot came on board to conduct us, next morning to Rochelle, five leagues from the spot at which we anchored. As it was very fine weather, the English captain, from the vanity of wishing to conceal the bad state of his ship from his brother captains, immediately took off the cable, and other articles by which the vessel was secured; but, at midnight, the wind began to rise, and soon after there came on a dreadful tempest. We lost, in a moment, two anchors of the three which we had, and the pilot, of the isle of Ré, whose countenance bespoke his fears, in the unhappy predicament in which he was placed along with us, told us, that the cable of the third was very bad, and would soon give way like the rest; adding, that there was no other way of escaping being dashed to pieces on the rocks, with which the island is surrounded, than by endeavouring to make a voluntary shipwreck in the river of Maraine, the bottom of which was full of mud, and if the vessel could only carry a sufficiency of sail to allow him to steer, he hoped he should be able to save all our lives, by conducting us into it. His salutary advice was immediately adopted by the English captain; they veered our last cable, but the first sail which was hoisted was instantly torn to pieces, like so much paper; however, having tried the sail of distress, which resisted better than the other, he run us on shore at the place where he proposed, and our ship entered in the mud as into a pot of butter, without our feeling the least shock. They then hoisted sails to fix the vessel as much as possible in the mud, lest, if the wind should happen to change, it might throw us on the other coast among the rocks; and we were immediately anchored in such a manner as left us no

ground for fear. Next morning, being the 5th of December, 1760, I landed at low water, by means of a ladder and planks, placed on the mud; and, after cordially saluting the earth, I entered a tavern in Maraine, where I found oysters and white wine in abundance, firmly resolved never more to trust myself to the power of Neptune.

Fortune has not proved more propitious to me since my return to France, having continued to persecute me unceasingly with an invincible obstinacy. There is now every appearance that she will only cease to persecute me with the termination of my existence, which perhaps will be occasioned by the want of the necessaries of life. At my age our lot is not easily susceptible of amelioration. I can truly say, that the events of my life prove the justice of the observations of Artabanes to Xerxes, when he shed tears at sight of his innumerable army at the passage of the Hellespont, on reflecting that, in the course of an hundred years, not one of them would be in existence. "Are we not exposed, during life, to what is more bitter and more to be lamented than death? For, during the short time that we live in the world, there is no person so happy, who has not frequently wished to die rather than to live. Diseases and misfortunes disturb even the happiest days of our lives, and, although it be very short, they make it appear long and wearisome. Hence death is to man a desirable refuge from the ills of life; and it may be said, that the Deity, who is immortal, treats us with severity, in giving us life on such hard conditions."

THE END.

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